

14TH NOVEMBER 1963

Adibasi

1963-64 NUMBER TWO

Editor

G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

Joint Editors

K. M. MOHAPATRA

J. K. ROUT

Published by

TRIBAL RESEARCH BUREAU
ORISSA

EDITOR, G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

CONTENTS

		Page
1.	Editorial	1
2. Toiyabe Sangama, Mission, Tribal & Rural Welfare, Orissa.	The New Dimension and Approach of Tribal Welfare.	3
3. Kalamani Mohapatra, Assistant Director, Tribal Research Bureau.	Leadership—A Sociological Analysis.	5
4. N. Konard and V. Ivanov, Academicians, Soviet Academy of Sciences.	An Ancient People Re-enters History.	17
5. G. N. Das, I.A.S., Director of Tribal Welfare, Government of Orissa.	Some aspects of Tribal Education	21
6. Harish Chandra Das, Curator in Anthropology, State Museum, Orissa.	The Sea Fishermen of North Balasore and their Methods of Fishing.	25
7. Subarnad Rout, Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau.	Functions of Juang Domitory in Keonjhar district.	29
8. Bhagirathi Choudhury, Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau.	Traditional Methods of Treatment of Diseases among the Juangs of Chhikaral.	35
9. Manmohan Mohapatra, Research Scholar in Anthropology.	Marriage among the So-a-ras of Jhalandhi.	41
10. Sanyasinda Panda, Research fellow, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University.	Structural Unity of a Fishing Village in Coastal Orissa.	47
11. Unacharan Mohanty, Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau.	Change in the Leadership Pattern in Kisan Society.	53
12. Prastota Kumar Mohapatra, Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau.	The Didayi—A Hill Tribe of Orissa.	63
13.	Important activities of the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department during the quarter ending 30-9-1963.	67

ADIBASI

14TH NOVEMBER 1963

1963-64 NUMBER TWO

* We brought out the revival issue of "Adibasi" on the 15th August 1963, with high hopes and not without some fears. We hoped to make it the forum of research and welfare ; but, we were afraid that we may not be able to receive the sustained co-operation of workers in the fields of action and research and continue the journal regularly. The very fact that we have been able to bring out the second issue in scheduled time proves that our hopes were not dupes, and our fears were certainly lurs. In this issue we have received articles from workers and scholars in different fields. The topics discussed cover a wide range. It is significant that the journal has attracted the notice of scholars from abroad. We are thankful to the Information Branch of the

U. S. S. R. Consulate-General in Calcutta for an illuminating and erudite article by two eminent academicians. We hope to receive more such communications from abroad for our next issue.

Though we have every reason to be confident, we cannot afford to be complacent, for in spite of some achievement, much more remains to be done. We call upon our contributors, both actual and potential, to take note of the fact that though it might have been difficult to launch " Adibasi " upon its arduous course it is still more difficult to keep it on as a going concern. It will be possible to sustain the venture only with their continued support and interest which we solicit through these lines.

THE NEW DIMENSION
AND
APPROACH OF TRIBAL WELFARE

Tribal people, who have participated in the historically developed cultural process of the country, constitute what we call the Great Society of India, a term which is almost synonymous with Indian Nation. This society is connected with the world forces through a network of relationships—direct and indirect. Thus in order to understand the Indian society we must analyse the social process of the world forces which the country shares with other nations of the world, and the distinctive features which are unique to it.

However, there are groups of people in India who were segregated from the main currents of national life due to historical reasons. These groups of people are today termed as tribes and are distinguished by a social structure which is very different from ours. The characteristics of a tribal society are its primitive technology and consequently a primitive economy and a consolidated social structure, which unlike our own, regulates almost all aspects of their social and individual behavior. It gives an apparent notion of "arrested growth". It is true that the technology of the tribal people is extremely primitive compared to modern industrial technology and this is because an advanced industrial technology can only develop on a world plane; it is not possible in self-contained, small communities. But should it mean that the tribes have not continued to grow during centuries of their existence,

thus violating one of the fundamental laws of nature that "whatever lives must grow"? The question posed here is not at all new, as a matter of fact it is one of the oldest problems of Anthropology and other human sciences. It is a scientifically based proposition that though the technology of the tribal people remained primitive, their social mechanisms continued to develop and achieve highly effective methods of social living, of resolving conflicts and fostering corporate life. Their distinctive cultural processes were geared towards deriving the maximum joy out of life. If we try to evaluate the achievements of a society, not by its material products but in terms of man himself, it may raise genuine doubts about the backwardness of the tribes and the advanced nature of our own society. It is a stupendous drawback of the modern civilization, of which our society is a component, that the mechanisms which are intended to serve man have become more important than man himself and threaten to obliterate him. This has not been the case with the tribal societies where human happiness is directly explored and never lost sight of.

It is necessary to focus attention on this aspect of tribal societies. It goes to the credit of the Anthropologists that abundant data have been collected on the society and culture of the tribes, but a greater task lies ahead of us. The

scientific data needs to be evaluatively assessed so that it can be used to improve human relations in our society. This may sound as a plea for our own development rather than that of the tribes. This is partially true. All our efforts to develop the tribal people are vitiated by a patronising attitude. This attitude should be radically altered and for this there should be widespread appreciation of the fact that the tribal societies can contribute substantially for our own development and that such contributions are essentially and urgently required by our society. This will give a new direction to tribal welfare and make it an integrated part of National Welfare.

What is said here should never be construed to mean that the tribal people are quite happy and can be happy without the material benefits and amenities of modern civilisation. They are certainly miserable without it, as only social organisation is not sufficient to sustain the abundant prosperity and happiness of a people. What is needed here is an integration between the material benefits and the social mechanism for their utilisation. In our enthusiasm to improve the tribal people; or may be due to lack of it, we often destroy the best things of their society and culture. The destruction is all the more complete because what are best in tribal life are not tangible things. They are forms of human behaviour and patterns of social relationships, which, once destroyed leave no trace behind them. What is more distressing is the fact that this destruction is one-sided because it is not compensated by the improvement of material conditions of the tribal people. This is because man manipulates change through its social

mechanism. If this mechanism is destroyed, entire life is dislocated and no improvement becomes possible.

It even makes the very existence of a people hazardous.

I may here sound a note of caution. The searches for the essence of tribal life are very often carried to absurd ends, laying emphasis on the superficial and losing sight of the essential. The principle "means justifies ends" should always prevail. For example it is thought that items of dress, pieces of ornaments, utensils and implements are endowed with mysterious attributes. Everything that is tribal is idealised and glorified. This sort of mentality tries to keep the tribes isolated from the whole world and preserve them in primitive poverty. This perverted outlook on the tribes is sometimes wrongly attributed to the anthropologists, but no reputed anthropologist ever held such an opinion. It has been strongly condemned as an unscientific proposition but the idea has taken root among some administrators and planners. It should be strongly emphasized that radical changes should be introduced among the tribes. They require all the technological achievements available to modern civilisation and the best is only good enough as these have been denied to them up till now.

Introduction of modern technology to improve the material condition of the tribal people, preservation and vitalization of the core of their society and culture, assimilation of their patterns of human relationship by our society: these are then our problems. And these are not disparate problems. They should be tackled as an integrated whole. To this task our scientists, planners and administrators should address themselves, in all seriousness.

Sociological basis of Leadership

Individualistic and Sociological Approach

It is a fundamental postulate of science that there is a latent unity behind the apparent differences of phenomena. Sociology gives expression to this law by categorizing cultural differences and formulating universally valid sociological laws. Here an attempt is made to explore the veracity of this law as applied to the sociological concept of leadership. The aim of this paper is to abstract a general frame of reference and to formulate its specific orientations responsive to concrete situations.

Toynbee in his study of history has described leaders as creative minorities. As he says, "All growth originates with creative individuals or small minorities of individuals and their task is two-fold; first the achievement of their inspiration or discovery, whatever it may be, and second by the conversion of the society, to which they belong, to this new way of life".

This statement is characteristic of the trait approach which has been superseded by the sociological concept

of leadership. Discussing this A. W. Gouldner says, "In the past the conditions which permitted an individual to become or remain a leader were often assumed to be qualities of the individual, the trait studies of leadership arose out of it". (Studies in Leadership). Elucidating it further Lindersmith and Strauss say as follows: "Leadership is commonly thought of in terms of leadership qualities. In taking over the common sense notion, social psychologists have been led to seek those traits of personality that are most usually associated with being a leader". (Social Psychology).

The trait approach proved wholly inadequate in the face of the developments of social sciences. The inadequacies can be enumerated as follows:

(a) Traits mentioned in a single list are not mutually exclusive. (b) Trait studies usually do not discriminate between traits facilitating ascent to leadership and those enabling it to be maintained. (c) Most of the studies raise questions concerning the organisation of behaviour. They are largely descriptive. Usually they do not ask how these traits develop and

how behaviour became organized. (d) It seems to be believed that the leader's personality can be or is described if all the traits by which it is composed are determined. Implicit is the notion that a personality is the sum of its component traits. This would seem, however, to ignore one of the fundamental properties of personality, its possession of organization.

Leadership and The Social Process

This trait approach was circumscribed by an undue emphasis on the explicit manifestation of some abstracted attributes to the complete neglect of the social process which produces it. Some of the implications of the proposition that leadership traits are universal and will not vary with the situation are: (1) The traits or personal qualities which made an individual a leader in one group should also be useful for leadership in other groups. (2) A man who is a leader in one group should tend to be a leader in others. But it should be remembered that the distribution of traits differs with age, education, occupation and sex.

Leaders tend to exhibit certain characteristics in common with the members of their group. Two of the obvious of these characteristics are interests and social background. Emphasis should be given on the intricate relations between the psychological aspects or traits (Skill, self-confidence, etc.) and the group aspects (respect, approval, etc.) and a correlation between generalized efficiency and specific situations (and vice versa).

Therefore leadership is not an inherent quality of individuals, but

essentially a type of social relationship. The impact of the social process have been aptly described by Phelps in following words:

"Another subject frequently taken up in connection with intelligence is the relative contributions of the social classes to productive leadership. The number of leaders is used as an indirect index of the proportionate distribution of intelligence. S. S. Visher used who's who in America as a standard guide to leaders, and his results may be summarized in two statements. Professional men and businessmen produced more than a third of the American notables born about 1870, farmers nearly one fourth, skilled labourers a few, unskilled labourers almost none. Or expressed in terms of proportionate contributions relative to their numbers in the general population, the professional men have contributed more than twice as many notables born about 1870 as the businessmen, 20 times as many as the farmers, 45 times as many as the skilled labour class; and 1,340 times as many as unskilled labourers."

Leader and the Group

The characteristics of leadership should, therefore, be sought in the leader-group relationship. There is a wide variety of definitions of the term "group" but for the sociologist the human social group has a special meaning. The group, for him, constitutes an entity of two or more persons in mental-symbolic interaction. This entity of the unit of interacting personalities is formed when a common interest (or interests)

arises among a number of persons who identify themselves with this interest and are thus held together by a sense of belonging with one another because of it. A human social group, therefore, involves a number of persons with common interest and value, interacting with one another covertly or overtly, and giving rise to a sense of oneness and unity among themselves. Thus the group involves several attributes:—(1). Two or more persons, (2). Common and agreed upon interests and values, (3). A persistent and organised pattern of interaction first on an overt and definable plane, through an actual and observable process of affiliating, participating and acting together to fulfil these values, and secondly on a covert plane through personal identification, feeling of belonging, etc.

The human social group is different from a physical aggregate in that the latter consists merely of a collection of physical units in a given area. The animal herd is also distinguishable from the human social group in that animal interaction is primarily synoptic and sensory, whereas human interaction is symbolic.

Many attempts have been made to classify human social groups. The possible types are perhaps infinite. In recent years great weight and interest have been focussed upon the degree of formality or informality in organisation of the group as the basis for group classification.

It has been said earlier that group organisation consists of a system of inter-related functions, activities, and roles among the group members. When this system is embodied in a

set of official and explicit rules set down in constitutions, established precedents, charters of incorporation and directions, the group is formally organized. The instruments governing the interpersonal relationships of members are impersonal, formal, deliberate, rational and planned. A political party attracts persons primarily because of what the party stands for ideologically rather than because of any appeal the members may have for one another personally, as in the case of the intimate friendship circle, the clique, the buddy group in the army or the juvenile gang. These latter groups are illustrations of the informal group. They lack not only a formal and prescribed structure of pre-arranged positions and functions, but also deliberate, planned procedures for governing the relations of their members. Their relations tend to be informal, personal and face to face. In the informal group, there is characteristically greater loyalty to other members than to the norms of the group. In the formal group quite the reverse is true.

The organization of leadership in groups is to be discussed in the light of the above analysis. Talcott Parsons says about groups (which he calls association). "Then the association level of the organization of collectivities is reached, and to some degree short of this, it certainly involves an internal differentiation of roles with respect to functions of collectivity as a unit, as well as those of what may be called its primary division of labour. This differentiation is about the axis of 'responsibility' relative to the possibilities of 'action in concert'. Internally this may be

called a leadership role, when the special concern is with relations of the collectivity and its members outside itself, to other persons and collectivities, it may be called a representative role."

In terms of the discussion of division of labour it should be clear that, where there is a good deal of norm for differences of specification, relative to specialized "contributions", in a co-operative action-system, leadership roles are always distinct. Responsibility in the present sense can never be confined to the efficient performance of a specialized function, but involves in some sense co-ordinating a variety of factors and contingencies in the interest of the collective goals. Like so many of the distinctions there is an important relativity about this one. But the focus on relational context as distinguished from technical goal is the essential criterion of a leadership.

Discussing the difference of leadership roles in formal and informal groups Parsons says, "This (the formalized functions) implies as noted, differentiation of roles relative to responsibility vis-à-vis the collectivity for maintenance of the integrity of a normative system. There are in turn, two main functions in such differentiated roles, namely, interpretation, which is important because of the frequent range of uncertainty as to just what role-obligations are and how generalized rules apply, and enforcement. Enforcement here should not be interpreted to mean only the application of negative sanctions in case of defiance, but special responsibility for the use of any and all sanctions, positive or negative. The difference

from the spontaneous informal case is that in that case sanctions are a matter of "private morality" whereas in the formal case they are a matter of specific role-obligation.

Most larger-scale social systems of course have important elements of both types of institutionalization. As noted, the fundamental groundwork tends to be informal, but the more complex and dynamic the social system, the more this tends to be supplemented by the differentiation of roles carrying collective responsibility, for which they have directly integrative functions in this sense."

Unorganized Groups and Leadership

After discussing leadership in connection with organized social groups one is tempted to deal with leadership in unorganized groups the best example of which is the crowd. Various devices may be deliberately employed by leaders to enhance crowd sentiment and focus its attention. The 'spell' of the effective crowd leader lies in the fact that he exists on the side of the prevalent state of feeling—the reasoning power which was previously resistant and critical of it. But he usually achieves this end by deluding or as it were, by "hypnotizing" the reasoning ability itself. He persuades the crowd by arguments that addressed to individuals in isolation would fail to convince, as members of the crowd they are credulous of statements that in their normal social activities they would more cautiously scrutinize.

The Role of Leadership in the Formation of Groups

"The mere recognition of an interest that can be promoted by organization is not sufficient to bring about

the formation of an association. For inertia, prejudices and problems of ways and means must be overcome, and here it is here the role of leadership is most manifest. Usually the initiative, enthusiasm and energy of one or a small number of persons prepare the ground for organisation. The leaders, whether from their devotion to the cause or from a sense of advantage to themselves in the form of status or power or economic gain, usually, in fact from a combination of these motives, play up the desirability of organisation and seek to establish attitudes in the potential members favourable to its formation. Often some precipitant, some crisis or unusual conjuncture of events, stimulates the leaders themselves to action. It is not possible here to pursue the interesting theme of the social psychology of leadership but indicate rather the leaders' function with relation to the group interest. His tasks in the early stage are to create or intensify a consciousness of the need for the new organisation, or, in other words, the awareness of the interests around which it is organized, to instill confidence in the promoters and thus in the efficiency of the organisation they propose, and to harness this heightened sense of need to the practical necessities of financial or other co-operation on the part of the members. In order to organize an interest, it must first be presented as such, in detachment from other interests, and then, in its organized form, it must somehow be brought into harmony with the other interests of its members. The nature of the interest to be organized determines in part the task of leadership. Where the interest is essentially economic the task is different from what it is when

a recreational or educational or religious interest is in question. It is different where the interest is general or vague and where the interest has an intimate and limited appeal.

Leadership and the type of interest

The development of appropriate leadership is subject to difficulties which vary with the type of interest to be organized. Where like economic interests are the main consideration, as in the business corporation or the labour union, a strong competitive struggle for leadership is likely to take place, followed by a process of selection, leading on the whole towards the emergence of leaders with appropriate qualities. Here the chief danger is that the leader will give preference, in guiding the organization, to economic interests of his own that are not in harmony with the economic interests of the group as a whole. Where common interests are the object of organization, other difficulties arise. The leader as leader has like interests. And these may prove too strong for his sincere service to the common cause. Another obstacle to effective leadership of organizations based upon common interests of the more idealistic type is that control tends not infrequently to fall into the hands of narrow-minded enthusiasts who, because of their zeal, are most ready to undertake the onerous tasks of leadership while they are often least conscious of its problems. In the political sphere we see a significant example of how the heavy responsibilities and often the sacrifices leadership involves act as a deterrent to some qualified candidates and thus leave the field more free for those

who seek approval, desires of power or personal gain. In all spheres of organization socially beneficial leadership involves some renunciation of like and common interests.

Authority and Leadership

A distinction must be drawn between authority and personal leadership. By authority it is meant here the right of control attached to office involving respect, the submission, or the reverence accorded to those who represent the office or are invested with its rights. Here we are not concerned with the authority of a group or of an impersonal principle or ideal or legal code, or rather with authority as it is vested or focused in a person, in his official capacity or field of knowledge or specialisation. By leadership it means the capacity to initiate and to evoke response that comes from a special type of social participation and role playing, apart from the office. These two types of controls are often combined in various degrees. Authority inheres in those who represent or embody the codes, or those who possess rank or status of any prestige derived from position or wealth, but it is always enhanced if qualities of leadership go along with the prerogatives of station or office. Not infrequently a powerful personal leader consolidates his power by attaining official position, but the two sources of power are themselves distinct. A policeman represents authority not leadership. A leader on the other hand can be an insurgent against the established order.

Types of Leadership

Leadership in a Dictatorial Society

The dominant tendency in a dictatorial society is organisation and consistency which secures unorganised insecurity. In such a society those who are leaders enjoy the possibility of coming to the fore one day and appearing in on the next. Society becomes a structure where one person's action and the expected reaction occurs. In the phase of the unorganised as compared with that of organised insecurity quite a different psychology characterises the individual. In the former phase the psychological reaction of the people was important; the psychology of masses governed everything. In the latter it seems as if the masses have abandoned their individual psychic life at least as far as public affairs are concerned and are ready to turn into robots. It is as if the sociologist had only to deal with the peculiar psychology of the leaders.

In the first phase of the unorganised insecurity, these leaders play no very important role. So long as everything is filled numerous petty leaders arise in place of the notabilities of the vanishing order, but their is only a transitory influence. After the first fermentation, however, a new differentiation takes place and self-guided groups occur. Spontaneous symbolic negotiation can take place only in a small community in which one or two or the few use various reactions a more or less conscious control of these symbols and of the emotions connected with them is needed. This manipulation is performed by

people whose personal psychological composition and aptitudes especially enable him to take the lead.

Let them lead our Society.

Leadership in a Democratic Society

Leadership process in a democratic society is different from that in an autocratic one. Democracy is a way of group life in which persons who are justified in making decisions concerning common problems. Autocracy on the other hand is a way of group life in which the decisions are made for the group by one person. Democracy therefore provides for a maximum of interest and consequent flexibility of its associational life but automatic interaction and makes selection relatively efficient.

In a democracy, group action is a result of the leadership process, but in an autocracy group action is a result of domination. Leadership, as has been pointed out is the process by which a group takes action after interaction. This is a democratic process. Domination, on the other hand, is the process by which a person dominates the interaction and force of controls the activities of the group in the direction of values or goals chosen by him self.

The Function of a Democratic Leader

The leader in a democratic group fosters free interaction among the members of a group, and group takes action in the direction of the goals set up in a particular situation by the decisions made and accepted by the leaders and followers in the process of interaction.

No doubt one of the first functions of the democratic leader is to help make clear to all the members of the group the meaning of the free interaction process and the fact that the standards of the control of the group may be set up by the group itself—not imposed by any one person. The leader also helps the group to see clearly the goals towards which it may direct its positive or negative attitudes and actions. Thus verified attitudes may be attained.

Thus, the unified decision of a group to take an action or attitude is not easily obtained. First, the factors in the situation that limit or demand some interaction in the group or the satisfaction of needs must be understood, but the leader has more insight into the meaning of the factors and more acceptable suggestions to make as to goals to be set up than any other member. Ideally leader and members of the group will participate in a maximum degree of interaction—forming a truly dynamic group.

More than this, all the while the leader must stimulate the development of a high degree of positive interpersonal attitudes and actions among the group-members for the differing suggestions of members are to contribute to the solution of common problems and not to create an opportunity for persons to dominate others, even in a democracy. The differences in values that do arise, as they will eventually are to be based upon generally recognized merit alone. Finally, democratic action under democratic leadership stimulates voluntary not forceful, means of

attaining the goals set up." (J. S. Roussin: *Social Control*)

The democratic leader does not differ from authoritarian in the amount of power but in the nature of his role in the group structure. The democratic leader seeks to evoke the maximum involvement and the participation of every member in the group activities and in the determination of objectives. He seeks to spread responsibility rather than concentrate it. He seeks to encourage and reinforce interpersonal contact and relations throughout the group structure so as to strengthen it. He seeks to reduce intergroup tensions and conflict. He seeks to avoid hierarchical group structure in which special privilege and status is frequently predominant.

Traditional Leadership

In a broad sense tradition can be regarded as a regulating factor for all types of leadership. However radical a leader might be, he cannot fully isolate himself from his socio-cultural milieu. Traditional leadership however should be understood in the specific sense of conformity to a particular pattern and resistance to change.

Traditional leadership develops when a society attains a high degree of stratification. It may be mentioned here that there are two wrong notions about stratification. Firstly that in a stratified society different strata are placed in an hierarchical order and secondly that each stratum is a self-contained unit which lacks interaction with other strata. Placing of different strata in a hierarchical

order is only a special case of stratification that is when the strata are placed vertically but there are also cases of horizontal stratification when the different stratified groups have parallel or complementary status. As to the second point, stratification is not lack of interaction between stratified groups, on the other hand it is one of the methods of achieving and regulating social interaction. This becomes possible only when there is a common value system. Thus stratification should be distinguished from social disorganization as being radically different from it.

Traditional leadership is dependent on two factors for its continuance as an enduring leadership. Firstly, it must be able to absorb and integrating into the existing pattern the dynamic factors of the society which suggest social change. In this case the content of leadership changes, whereas the personal remains static. Secondly, the functions of leadership should in the course of time be ritualized. In this case the sanctions of leadership are not confined to the changing pattern of social functions and can endure change.

Traditional leadership can be judged in various levels of rigidity. When leadership is based on familial succession as in the case of hereditary rulers can be regarded as purely traditional. When, however, leadership is based on certain attributes as in the case of a political party, traditional leadership is very elastic. A great variety can be ranged between these two extreme.

Traditional leadership is effective when there is a social equilibrium

and can attain a high degree of efficiency in its own sphere in abstract situations. It can sustain itself by mere rigid statism.

Revolutionary Leadership

Revolution is a sort of leap—a change in the social system. It is but a change in leadership, on which depends the attainment largely through trial and error of the change in conditions.

The layman is inclined to believe that the presence of radical leaders makes for revolution. The fact is that radical leaders simply direct or attempt to direct movements or movements and attempt to co-ordinate a large number of riots. The radical is no more the cause of revolution than the rudder is the cause or the solution of a ship. Lack the ship's rudder, the radical leader endeavours to direct the ship's mass.

Although national riots are generated by malfunctioning of a social system, they are invariably directed toward the destruction of persons or classes of persons, who serve as a symbol of the causes of discontent. Revolving masses do not relate their discontent to the social system itself but the people who represent that system—police, army, bureaucracy, etc. The rioting is therefore directed towards a destruction of a symbol of the social system rather than toward reformulation of that system. Only when conditions have become intolerable that revolt follows revolt in disorderly succession does radical leadership representing a new philosophy of politics and economic life become significant. Then and only then may it grasp leadership and

direct even toward something more fundamental than a change in the personnel of political and economic leadership.

Once one has escaped from the rather naive idea that radical leaders make revolt and thus revolution, it becomes evident that it is the failure of revolutionary leadership to adjust to changing conditions that results eventually in the overthrow of such leadership. The part played in revolutions, not by persons who rise to temporary leadership under riot circumstances, but by radical leaders—men trained in some doctrine of social reconstruction—is measured by what may happen when a such leadership is established—such as leaders' success by appeal to traditional hatreds and aims at victimization which does not remain confined to the opponents of the revolt. The leaders themselves are also victimized and are replaced in and replaced in.

Charismatic Type of Leadership

Undoubtedly the most spectacular type of social movement, if only because most clearly defined a hat which centres around a person or a symbol of a person or a symbol of a person. The ideology which may have been served by that person or may have evolved spontaneously, revolves to that person's extraordinary powers that are new and unique—a primitive magic man, a contemporary priest, a physician, etc.—have extraordinary powers, but their powers are defined by the cultural milieu in which they operate and are limited by that definition. The extraordinary powers ascribed to an individual, by an ideology of the sort, on the other hand, are not

sanctioned by the culture. In terms of the culture, they are powers previously unknown, or at the most, known only in the distant past. Such powers are usually described as supernatural or spiritual and are technically known as "charisma."

The charismatic powers imputed by the ideology may pertain to some limited field, as do those of a "miracle man" who heals body ills, or they may be all-inclusive. Thus a person who is caught up in some new faith cure involving a healer necessarily rejects the established medical practitioners and their techniques, for the faith cure is a contradiction of the established medical practices and violates all prior understanding of the nature of body ills. Likewise the person who joins a new political movement that claims about some political unknown is thereby denying the value of the traditional political system, its offices, and the persons occupying such offices.

In some instances an individual who has become a charismatic leader has had the charismatic powers thrust upon him. Usually, however, the individual who has become a charismatic leader has himself devised the doctrine that attributes to him charismatic powers and has himself promoted that doctrine, at least in the initial phase of his rise to leadership. Some charismatic leaders have undoubtedly been clairvoyants, who found at this particular moment the easiest way to wealth and prestige. On the whole, however, most of the successful charismatic leaders seem to have believed in themselves.

The authority of a charismatic leader approaches the absolute in that area

in which his charisma performs its absolute effect on the society among whom he exists, in that he is not subject to opposition.

A leadership that depends solely on charisma is always short lived. When, however, a charismatic leader succeeds in establishing an organization, he may, if an establishment is formed, thereby negate his own non-charismatic point of view, for he knows that he has charisma.

Individual Leadership

Leadership in an industrial society is determined by three factors: by the position a person holds in an organization, by personal skill and by the personality of the person.

Persons in certain higher positions in an organization are sometimes considered to display leadership by virtue of the very nature of the position they hold. Frequently a supervisor is considered to be the leader merely because he has the job title of supervisor. However, persons placed in higher positions in a formal organization may show none of the behavior or character traits associated with leadership, hence position alone cannot be considered the criterion of leadership—the determining factor is the use to which the position is put.

Individuals who possess skills that are superior to those of their fellows may be considered to be leaders in an industrial society. The quality may be certain knowledge and skills required for the group activities. Because of his experience, an "old hand" among a group of workers may be considered a leader. He, more than others, is able to deal with difficult

and unusual problems, he has greater skill in adjusting and operating machines, and he has a more thorough understanding of the factors involved in any situation that arises. The particular pattern of personality characteristics that an individual possesses may qualify or disqualify considering him to be a leader. Because of his understanding of a foreman may be an example for his group and therefore be thought of as exercising leadership. However, it may be argued that persons of superior qualities are not necessarily leaders since there may be no deliberate attempt on their part to influence the behavior of others. Furthermore, even if there is such an intent, he who is disapproved may not be viewed as leadership. For example, the good hand who shows another worker how to do something is merely showing or instructing him, rather than leading him.

In connection with his activities bearing directly upon the setting and achieving of organizational goals, perhaps the most obvious function of the leader is that of executive. In his role as executive he is responsible for seeing that the appropriate activities of the organization are carried out. A foreman assigns tasks to workers and sees that these tasks are properly executed.

Another function performed by the leader is policy making. He may either establish organizational goals and objectives himself or he may participate with his superiors or subordinates in establishing them. Thus, the president of a company perhaps in collaboration with the board of directors or with his staff determines the nature of the

commodities or services with which the company will be concerned.

A final function planning is intermediate between the determination of policies and their execution. In this connection the leader makes decisions concerning the ways and means by which organizational goals can be achieved. A foreman may assign tasks to his subordinates, he may also plan work schedules and devise operational procedures.

The second group of functions performed by the industrial leader is connected with the operational side of organization. Six functions can be differentiated in this category. First, the leader is an owner in the principal activities of the organization. The second function with respect to group is an external group representative to deal with outside interests or groups. The third function of the leader is a representative of subordinates. The leader serves other members of the group in carrying responsibilities and they in turn place the trust in his decisions. A fourth function is the leader is a controller of internal order within the organization. Fifth, the leader functions as a dispenser of rewards and punishments. Finally, the leader acts as an arbiter of conflict and seeks to harmonize harmony among the members of the organization. (Gibson and Brown)

Leadership is an *influence* which operates both in face-to-face and distant contact situations. The group membership of the individuals and the differing or even conflicting interests of the groups tends to balance

one leadership against another. For example, the leadership of the Union President and the factory manager hold each other in balance. When this balance is disturbed and other factors do not counterweigh it, social disorganisation sets in.

Rural Leadership

The community nature of rural society as compared to the atomistic nature of the industrial determines the nature of rural leadership. The rural Society also the industrial has groups with different and conflicting interests but the differences are structured into the community in such a manner as to produce an integrated pattern.

Rural leadership is not specific but composite in nature. Thus the rural leader is called upon to perform a variety of functions which in an industrial society would be entrusted to a number of specialists. For example, a Village Head Man is expected to provide leadership in relation to the needs of agriculture and education, to patronise village industries and handicraft, to inform about political and administrative affairs and so on.

Contrasted with industrial, rural leadership functions only in face-to-face situation, though distant contact influence is not absent in rural life. The influence of a village headman is not limited to his own village. Although he is not an official, his acquaintance, it extends to a wide range of impersonal relationships. But they do not attain the status of Leadership in real sense of the term.

The factors determining rural leadership cannot be deduced from the immediacy of its functions and social relationships. It develops diachronically and achieves a degree of organisation which commensurates with the specific nature of its process of development.

Social stratification in the rural community is not a symptom of disorganisation or decay, but the means of adjustment with the contending social forces. The caste system of the Indian rural community is the most appropriate example. The caste system has been described as 'the oldest, social organisation of the world maintaining all the aspects of life yet giving security to all of them. Leadership in the Indian rural community is based on caste structure and had been highly effective in the past. But the functional aspect of the caste system has become so obsolete that even the maximum degree of stratification has not been able to shield caste leadership from the onslaught of the challenge of the time. So we find two distinct processes at work. On the one hand there is the attempt on the part of secular leadership to prove effective and on the other the effort of the caste leadership to integrate into its structure the functions of the secular.

The rural people always show a marked preference for educational and administrative fields whereas the urban people tend towards the technical field.

In 1908 Mongolian shepherds led the famous explorer of Central Asia, P. Kozlov, to the ruins of an old city buried under the sand which they called Kharkhoto: the Black City or the Dead City. Once upon a time it was the capital of the Tangut State which had arisen at the end of the 9th century. And in the 13th century it fell under the blows of Jenghis Khan. As a result of the invasion of his Mongols, the country was laid waste, part of the population perished, and the rest was taken prisoner. The wars that subsequently were fought once passed through the annals of what had been the Tangut Kingdom destroyed was the little that had still remained, and the same water advanced from the desert pit and laid to everything.

Lying by one of the mounds Kozlov discovered an unimpaired repository a whole library of books printed by the xylographic method and manuscripts in an unknown language. Everything that the explorer could take with him at the time he brought to St. Petersburg and handed them over to the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences for preservation. In 1911 these treasures passed over to the new organization, Institute of Oriental Studies from the hands of Asian Peoples.

As soon as specialists began to acquaint themselves with the texts it became clear that the writings contained a huge material was that of the Tanguts. Already way back at the end of the 19th century expert orientalis-

of China, France, the United States and other countries had studied the inscription on the gates of a Chinese city the text of which was repeated six times in different writings, including the Tangut. Subsequently an additional number of xylographs printed in the hieroglyphs of this system of writing was found in China. But due to their small number, it was impossible to unravel the Tangut script and restore the language or at least to read the existing materials. Therefore it went no further than the determination of several dozen hieroglyphs and the first hypotheses concerning about the language.

By now this mysterious language has been deciphered. Moreover the language for which the script had been invented was disclosed. This was done by the Soviet scientist Nikolai Nevsky. The results of his discoveries were published in 1962 by the Eastern Literature Publishing House in the two-volume book *Tangut Philology*. This work has now been put up for the 1962 Lenin Prize.

It is true that Nevsky's discoveries became known to specialists already 25 years ago, when his works on the Tanguts, their state, written language appeared in the press for the first time. Orientalists also knew about the unpublished Tangut-Russian hieroglyphic dictionary compiled at the time by Nevsky. It contained explanations of more than 1,000 hieroglyphs and how to read them in Tangut. It is to be regretted that this colossal work has come off the press only about two years ago.

The research of Tangut writing had to deal simultaneously with two

unknowns: both the writing and the language. At that, because of the absence of any live carriers of the language the path to its revelation lay only through written material that had reached us from the depths of the centuries. And the deciphering of the writing in its turn depends on the knowledge of the language. The difficulties were multiplied also by the fact that the script itself contained no hidden keys for the understanding of it—rather showing the meaning of the characters and defining how these characters should be read. Therefore it can be hardly asserted that the deciphering of the Tangut script turned out one of the most difficult problems that ever faced the researchers of written languages.

Nevsky's finds, which made up a very rich collection of Tangut books and manuscripts, helped Nevsky successfully solve this riddle. His inventory list contains more than 8,000 units, which in volume exceeds many times all the Tangut materials of the diverse book repositories of the world taken all together. This collection is completely unique also in its composition: it contains Buddhist representations, texts of legislative acts, history and artistic works, and compilations of an encyclopedic character. Besides, much literature translated from the Chinese and Tibetan languages and finally, which is especially important for a researcher, a Tangut-Chinese dictionary and Tangut phonetic charts are represented there.

We learned all this, thanks to the research of Nevsky, who painstakingly step by step, solved the riddle of the ancient writing. He had to bind together into a single whole all the

whereas on some rare occasions he wrote where had been earlier no successful. But give us a ready-made young scientists who have been attracted to the problem of Tang's memorial.

There is unquestionably considerable research which is as important in science.

Proving that it is ()

SOME ASPECTS OF TRIBAL EDUCATION

Among the tribals the level of literacy is very low. In Orissa, where the percentage of triba. population is the highest in the total population, it is 34.06 per cent; the percentage of literacy is as low as barely 2 among males and not even 1 per cent among the females.

There can, therefore, be no two opinions regarding the spread of education among the tribals. As a matter of fact increased attention has been paid to this of late, by the State Government. The question is what should be its form and content.

At an informal discussion a friend once remarked, "The tribals have a low level of intelligence. Are they going to respond adequately to the efforts made at educating them?" Look at the huge amount spent and can you tell how many of them have graduated or even matriculated in a dozen years?"

Another friend, an enthusiast in tribal welfare work, quickly rejoined saying that the tribals had no tradition in the formal type of education that we are trying to impart them now. It has taken us, the non-tribals, over a century to attain whatever progress we have achieved so far in that type of education which again we are doubting seriously of modifying and even discarding. "What is this education but, swallowing a lot of unrelated information and vomiting it out at the examination to secure a passport to freedom? The tribal children received

this in the age-old 'Sabbath-school'. They learnt them by actual practice. We now impose upon them the formal type of education to learn by rote a few appointed facts of alien history or some figures. What, if the tribal is allowed to draw up the curriculum? He will perhaps include archery, fowling, building houses, agriculture and so on. I would like to know how our children would fare in such a set-up?"

That may be the other extreme view on the subject. It is, however, an admitted fact that the tribals have to be brought into the main stream of the nation. It is and has to be the earliest possible point of time in the career of national integration. We have to have in view the importance of following a uniform pattern against that context. Our children and tribal children should grow up together as common citizens of India. They must not feel that they are different.

As a matter of fact they are not different. Social Scientists are agreed that tribal children stand on par with non-tribal intelligence. The theory of an intellectually superior or inferior race has been long exploded. Tribal boys and girls are noticed to be coming up steadily in the schools imparting general education. In simple crafts involving skill and endurance they are found to excel the non-tribal children. In games like hockey, in music and dance their performance has been as outstanding as that of the non-tribals.

What we have, therefore, to ensure is that the tribal children get ample opportunity to receive education so that they develop into their full stature and take their rightful place along with others as the future citizens of India. In the wake of independence, opportunities of various kinds are opening up before us in an ever increasing way. The tribal children have to be well equipped in order to take full advantage of those opportunities.

There are certain impediments in the way. Firstly the tribals have not yet realised the importance of education. They consider that their children should engage themselves in fruitful pursuits rather than waste their time in the schools. This is a matter for very serious consideration. The tribal is at a very low economic level. His children have to help them, the meagre family resources at a very early age or take care of the younger children while the parents are away collecting roots and fruits and fuel. The tribal parents have, therefore, to be made to take interest in the education of their children. Night schools for adult males and females should be run in large numbers. This can be entrusted to the village teacher. The programme should not be mere rapid literacy campaign but ought to include interesting pictorial literature on tribal arts and crafts, the flora and fauna of the area, simple stories of their beliefs and convictions and also their dance and festivals. By the process of self-involvement the tribal parents would soon like their children to be educated. They will realise that by being educated they will be able to resist the exploitation that they suffer at the hands of the petty traders, the Shahucars and the boss of others.

Secondly some of the tribals have their own dialects. Their children understand better through their mother tongues. So, teachers should as far as practicable be selected from the qualified tribal persons of those communities. They should be trained if not already trained. If outsiders have to be selected they should acquire a good working knowledge of the tribal dialect in order to be in a position to explain to the children correctly.

Thirdly the tribals attach considerable importance to their social and religious ceremonies. Further more, a harvesting and other agricultural operations the children, particularly the higher age-groups, will have to render seasonal service to help the parents either in the field or at home in their absence. The working hours to be observed in the school have to take this into account. The working hours should follow the convenience of the tribals and may have to be changed from season to season and not that the set pattern followed elsewhere blindly adopted for the schools in the area. Similarly, the holidays should be on the basis of their festivals and not according to the departmental bye print.

Fourthly the tribal is a few degrees more sentimental than the average man. He is very fond of his superstitions, customs and manners in high esteem and with a sense of pride. It has been noticed that tribal boys and their parents have been genuinely hurt by the thoughtless but unwarranted remarks of unscrupulous and undisciplined teachers concerning their customs and habits, their dress and ways of life. There is, therefore, great need of selecting suitable teachers for the tribal schools. They should not

only be trained as teachers, but should have aptitude for serving the tribals and respect for their way of life and customs and manners. They should be well informed on these matters and try to show proper respect for the tribal ways of life and all this a good theme. By tactful exposure of the sentiment he would help not only the tribals to have respect and love for him but also help them to be self-reliant to have confidence in themselves.

The tribals as a heterogeneous group of tribes they have their distinctive patterns of life and custom. By the contacts that they have been having with the outside world, they are imbibing new ideas and techniques. But this has been a rather tardy process. The tribals have by and large been conservative in their outlook and have, therefore, been able to preserve their character and some of values to a great extent. It has been his duty, in the effort to educate them to improve the tribal economic standard, and active endeavour should be made to preserve the tribal good points which are worthy of preservation such as honesty, selflessness, straightforwardness, discipline, valour and so on. In preparing the special syllabuses for the primary standard these aspects may be suitably emphasized so that the tribal students continue to attach it as value as they

On the other hand - the matter of technological change, to which we will at a rather rudimentary standard of development. They have little or no knowledge regarding the modern world's developments and production - information on these matters should be projected in a suitable manner in their textbooks in order to enable the able children to embrace correct ideas on these

The tribals except those who by the process of gradual assimilation have mingled with the general population are still living in comparative isolation. Instances of such isolation in spite of close proximity have been reported frequently. It is said that due to conservatism, a tribal community which had for centuries across the road had not accepted any change as a result of contact with the members of another tribe. The tribals are a simple people in spite of or perhaps due to the very fact that they have to live a hard life. They are brave and have a considerable measure of patience and endurance. As they are living in isolation the sense of national integration is comparatively weak. The tribals should make a strong and efficient unit in the chain of the Indian Nation. The sense of national integration has to be suitably infused in them. This should be done through the textbooks and only for the tribal children but for the adults who have to be covered by the programmes of night schools. I can be suitably put across that along with other social activities can be tribals take an active part in building a new India.

The tribals who have been conversant in their outlook, have continued their age-old agricultural practices and have not readily accepted change in this and other spheres. It has been noticed that new agricultural methods and implements and introduction of technological change in cottage crafts have not found favour with the tribals. While, as we have learnt from lessons of Social Sciences, new methods and techniques should be carefully and judiciously introduced in a backward community, the effort

should be made to make the tribal mind more receptive and amenable to change for the better. This can be achieved by introducing a cable text of the primers for tribal children, by bringing home to them the agricultural operations and technological methods depicted on scientific factors and that the principles on the basic factors and adoption of methods which have been found to be profitable by practice in other areas may have to be considered, and adopted when found equally useful, by experimentation and practice. This would mould the way to growth of a receptive as well as a creative mind.

There has been some thinking on the pattern of education to be evolved for the Indian children. I have been told by some of the leading educationists of the country that there is urgent need to modify the present system not only in the pattern but in the content as well. It has been indicated by some that at the primary and the middle standards education should be work oriented. The students who are learning theory should practice with their hands in the same manner as they would participate in games. This has been the way the tribal children have received their education which may be loosely described as a process of learning through lessons of life. If at all, mainly such a system of vocational oriented education is adopted with the youth, best suited for the Indian students, would be almost readily acceptable by the tribal students. If the nation accepts that a science oriented form of education has to be accepted as the pattern, there is no reason to apprehend that the tribal student would be found wanting or that it would not suit his native genius and skill.

Trials in small villages or hamlets often separated by hills and forests infested with wild animals or cut across by the streams which swell up with strong torrents during the rains. Village schools will have, therefore, to remain constant for the time being with small number of students. Schools will have to be started at adequate number of centers to the needs of small tribal villages of this kind. Instances should not be made up the teacher-pupil ratio. After communication facilities improve, would be possible to reduce the number of such schools in some areas.

Effort should be made to provide for midday meals in the village schools, for tribal students. The menu should be according to the preference of the tribals. The blue print plans need not be insisted upon in all cases. It should however be possible to restrict the students to food values in course of the midday meals. For this the teachers should equip themselves accordingly.

The tribals like to keep the living hut and precious neat and loves to display his artistic skill on the walls of his house. The blue print plan of school houses need not be insisted upon for tribal areas. On the other hand, the school house may follow the local tribal pattern. This will provide a congenial atmosphere and the students and their parents would like to keep a proper air.

The tribal loves fruit trees. The school should invariably try to develop an orchard. The boys and girls may grow their own fruit trees. They will simultaneously learn to grow, share and propagate improved fruit growing in home.

THE SEA FISHERMEN OF
NORTH BALASORE AND
THEIR WAY OF FISHING

The fishermen community, which I have studied, inhabits the coastal area of North Balasore, stretching from the mouth of the river Subarnarekha to the eastern border of Midnapore district. This area is bounded by the vast sea in the south, river Subarnarekha in the west, numerous groves of Midnapore shore in the east and the vast sandy wastes with ditches at intervals in the north. The high sea coasts are sand-dunes stretching on the shore protects this area from sea water. A metalled road from Cuttack to Digha, Digha a health resort of West Bengal and a fair weather resort from Bagan, Raskotha connects the fishermen community in the east and the west respectively. Before the construction of these two roads trade in fish was the only method of the neighbouring fishermen villages to seek work and markets. These two roads and the Department of Fisheries of the Government of West Bengal established recently at Digha facilitate the dispatch of fish to distant towns like Cuttack, Khurajpur and Calcutta.

The fishermen community consists of five castes, viz. Kairwari, Gottha,

Kandari, Khajuri and Bhumi. According to 1931 census they number 2,671 which total is made up of Kairwari—575, Gottha—418, Bhumi—711, Khajuri—517, Kandari—430.

The following are the 10 villages located in this area, viz., Udayapur, Solappur, Gumbharia, Padmapur, Kanyanagar, Kumbharnagar, Narasimachandrabadda, Raskotha, Chandabadda and Kirtoria. These villages are found at a distance of about 2 furlongs from the sea-shore. The continuous ridge of sand-dunes running parallel to the shore and between the sand-dunes and the villages are found the paddy fields of the fishermen. Here the paddy fields are being covered by the wind-blown sand. To prevent this calamity from the wind-blown sand, the Government of Orissa is planting casuarina plants on the shore.

Sea-fishing is the major occupation of the fishermen of North Balasore. The most costly items of fishermen's equipment are boats and nets. Practically major operation of fishing is done with boats which are of low production. The total number of boats owned by the fishermen

— 127, almost all of which are small in size with the load up capacity varying from 40 to 50 maunds.

Types of nets used by them are as follows: (i) Stuck net (*Kash Jau*), (ii) Sarker net, (iii) Baranda net, (iv) Dhar net, (v) Bado net, (vi) Bado net, (vii) Baranda net, (viii) Salk net, (ix) lift net (*Lika Jala*).

(i) Salk net—This is a very simple and common net used by the fishermen. It is 50 yds. long, 3 yds. broad with quarter-inch mesh and is operated at water-deep water by two persons only. It catches very small fish and small shrimps. This type of net is in use throughout the year.

(ii) Sarker net—This is a net of 80 yds. long and 3 yds. broad with half-inch mesh made from cotton thread. At intervals of one yard floats are tied on one long side of the net. This net is used from one boat. It catches big fish like *Karna*, *Kanna*, *Alkha*, and also varieties of shrimps.

Fishing with Sarker net is very common in this community and it is used throughout the year in monsoon and in bad weather major type of fishing is done with this net only. One boat and 4 to 50 men are necessary to handle this net. Half of the group stands in water-deep water holding the one end of the net and the other half of the group gets upon the boat and slowly casts the net as they proceed. When the whole net is cast the boat casts anchor and men going down from the boat hold the other end of the net. While the net is being drawn on both the sides it is formed into a semi-circle.

The net is dragged slowly and carefully when the whole net is dragged fish are stored in the baskets. To work once with the net it takes 2 to 2½ hours. A good catch may be as high as 50 maunds and the poor one may be 5 seers.

(iii) Baranda net—It is 30 yds. long, 3 yds. broad with 2 inches mesh on the edges. The size of the mesh is reduced towards the middle where it is half inch only. It is made either of cotton thread or of sun-damp ropes. This type of net is operated both in the sea and in the river. Subantarkha is a net in ebb-tide is a semi-circle with a number of bamboo sticks which keep the net tight to the ground when it is under water. In high-tide fish entangle in meshes and in the next ebb-tide these are stored by the fishermen. The operation of this net requires 2 to 3 men.

(iv) Dhar net—It is circular in shape with a small purse in the middle to trap the fish. The meshes are so small that all sorts of fish can be caught with this net. It can be operated by two persons only in rivers and ponds also.

(v) Baranda net—It is 50 yds. long and 15 yds. broad with 2 inches mesh and is made of sun-damp ropes. It is set in the deep sea. The lower end of the net is tied firmly to the bamboo sticks which project into the ground to save it from being washed away when the tide is high. This net is useful for catching very big fish like *Solman* and *Alkha*.

(vi) Bado net—Fishing with this net requires a great deal of co-operation. Several fishermen jointly

net the net is set which covers an area of about 5,000 sq. yds. In the ebb-tide the net is set tight with bamboo sticks making a rectangular area. Three sides of this area are covered with the net keeping the side to shore open. When water recedes in the ebb-tide the fishermen catch fish from the covered area without net stick net etc. Only one net is operated in the area jointly by the villagers of K. Maria, Rabinia and Chaudabana.

(iii) *Soft net*—It is 100 yds. long and 15 yds. broad with half inch mesh. It is operated from the boat in winter season only. It catches sea fish like *Sila*, *Peric*, etc. A group of fishermen consisting of 12 to 15 persons go in a boat to the deep sea in the morning and come back in the next morning with loaded boat of fish. This net is operated at night only as the shoal of fish is found clearly at night.

(iv) *Left net*—It is almost a square in size. It is made of coarse thread. Five boats are necessary to operate this net. The fish taken are *Afiba*, *Amar*, *Shakra*, *Bine* (blue-fish), etc. There are only two nets in this category.

The lift net fishing involves a complicated procedure. This type of fishing was introduced in this community in 1939 by the Department of Fisheries established at Digboi (Mizoram district). Different sections of the net are owned by different people. This is a large net roughly square in size with a slight sag in the centre. The net is composed of seven sections of different mesh with the smallest in the centre. When it is in

use the sections are joined by corner ropes. Out of five boats needed to work the net one carries the net and dives it into the deep sea and holds the corner when the net is cast and hauled. The other boats haul the other corners. The fifth is a boat from which the expert and organizer of the group watches the shoal of fish. The boats come before dawn and arrive at the place where the shoals of fish are indicated by the leader of the group. The fishing expert from the bow of the boat finds out where the shoals are and carefully fishes the same. By the volume of noise he is enabled to whether the shoal is large or small and what kind of fish are there in it. After it is located the work begins. The net is cast, the bow of the leader passes cautiously into the centre of the net and attracts other boats. If the catch is of considerable size one boat acts as the carrier of fish to the shore. 10 to 40 men are necessary to operate this net.

(v) *Slide net*—Fishing with this net is also complicated. It is meant for catching *Afiba*, flat-fish, shark, etc. *Afiba* are found at considerable distance from the shore. Sometimes the fishermen cover five to ten miles off the shore. Two boats and 15 men are necessary to handle this net. They go before dawn and return in the evening. When the crew find a shoal they cast the net from both the boats and make a semi-circle. The net is cast just in front of the shoal. The shoal of fish enters into the circle. In the meantime other corners are joined so that the fish cannot go outside. The fishermen then beat the water with long bamboo

Introduction. My previous article on "Jana in Orissa: A Study of the Jangs of Keonjhar" deals with such aspects as the age-grade structure of the clan and female population, factors determining admission into the dormitory, rites for becoming formal members of the dormitory, roles and responsibilities of these members and rewards and privileges enjoyed by each age-group. This paper describes the functional aspects of the dormitory. Here I have discussed about the organized group activities of the dormitory members. Organized behaviour as manifested in communal and group endeavour is a special feature of the tribal societies and is an integral part in the dormitory life of the Jangs. It is interesting and important to observe how such group activities are organized and how these are translated into action. Co-operation of the group members and their common interests find full expression in two situations, a dancing visit exchanged between *Baudhu* boys and girls and the common economic pursuits like cultivating common patches of forest land, working as hired labour parties for wages, collecting or seeds from the jungle, etc.

Most of the Jang villages are unisex villages. Marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and in villages which are related as *Kakumb*. Marriages are only performed between *Baudhu* villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and the girls. Dancing visits are exchanged only between *Baudhu* villages. If the *Kakumb* (unmarried boys) desire a special visit and asking for the *Strunk* (unmarried girls) of a particular village, they make gifts of food rice, ribbon for bura, comba, etc., to the girls and invite them to pay a visit to their village. In order to convey their eagerness for change dance, the boys might tie the girls in a piece of cloth and leave the cloth with the girls telling them to return the cloth on their trip to the boys' village. Sometimes, they also appeal for the girls consent in a joking manner by saying "if you do not come to our village, then let your own brothers marry you." While making gifts the boys' party and the girls' party try to flatter each other. The boys identify themselves as "the sons of untouchables" and address the girls

as "the daughters of kings. The girls also answer in the similar manner describing themselves as inferior to the boys. The girls distribute the gifts of their *Banika Kungperi* among themselves and give a small share to the *Kungperi* of their own village. When the boys distribute the gifts of their *Banika* girls they also give a small share to their village girls.

Before making a dancing trip the *Sekani* collect rice or paddy from their houses and prepare cakes to use for the *Banika Kungperi*. They also take tobacco and liquor with the cakes as gifts and reach the boys' village with some widows and old ladies of the village. They take shelter in anybody's house but generally the house of a close relative is preferred. The girls call the *Banika* boys to that place and ask about their health and happiness. The boys always give funny replies to attract the girls—saying that "some of them were sick," "some had broken their legs on their way back home from the forest," "some could not walk for crushing their feet with an axe while chopping firewood," etc. The boys also ask about the health of the girls and the girls reply in the usual funny manner. The girls give cakes, tobacco and other gifts they brought for the boys and say jokingly that the boys might not like the gifts brought by the "untouchables."

During their stay in the boys' village the girls and the party are fed by the *Kungperi* and by the village elders. Both the villagers and the *Kungperi* equally share the burden of feeding the girls' party. The *Kungperi* provide rice, dal, etc. for the girls' meal from their common

fund, if they have any stock; otherwise they collect such things from their own houses or bring in loans from rich families. The villagers also collect their shares in similar fashion.

Food is cooked by the villagers on the place outside the *Majang* at night and inside the *Majang* under shade during the day. It is sent to the girls in leaf cups, prepared by the *Sekani* of the boys' village.

Changa dance goes on night and day, but it is more free at night. At night the village elders retire from the *Majang* and go to sleep in their own houses. A strong competitive spirit develops between the boys and the girls; parties and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changa* overnight and make the girls to dance. They beat *changa* in alternate groups. The girls also split up into two groups and dance alternately. If the girls try to flee away from the dancing ground to sleep the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not let the boys go asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. It is really painful for the boys to get themselves drenched by the girls in cold wintry night.

During the dance both parties try to display fun to each other. The girls kick and step on the feet of the boys while dancing. They also throw black dyes, mud water and women's water at the boys and the boys throw the same things back at the girls. *Kung* girls never sing in *changa* dance. They only get a chance to display their jokes towards the *Banika Sekani* during *changa* beat, and the girls cannot reply to it except by

licking, pulling cheeks from their hands and throwing ash and water at them. The singing competition between the boys and the girls takes place when each party sings and answers to each other on their way back home from market place, fairs, or when working together in the field. Each party sings a chorus to the other and both exchange song answers through singing. They sing so sweetly and work so smoothly that they forget to go back home and so, her soon meals.

A. the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep the boys take the girls to a secluded place for massaging. The girls are crested and are approached to go for massaging. The boys tell the girls, "Let us go to the forest to collect *uoth mags* (this is a figurative expression of massaging)." The girls reply jokingly, "We have never learnt how to scratch if it is such easy." The boys say, "Come, we will teach you." On certain occasions the *Sepak* of the boys is used to beat the *Bondu* *Selam*, a massage that 'brothers' mean to their own clan *Angeik*. The boys get themselves massaged in a group sitting close to each other or may put off with one girl each to different places. In no case they sit wide apart from each other. When getting massaged a boy may become the breasts of the girl but the joking behaviour does not lead to actual sexual indulgence.

On the passing day the girls are entertained with a meat meal. A goat, a pig or a sheep is slaughtered for them and shares of cooked rice and meat curries are given to the girls both for their meals and for carrying and share with them to eat on their

way home. They are also given nuts, seeds, mandia, maize, jack fruits and other seasonal crops. The boys go up to certain distances to see the girls off. On the way the girls massage the boys and the boys decorate their hair with wild flowers.

Common Expenses *Partners*—The former members of the dormitory i.e., the unmarried boys and the girls, have to return gifts to their *Bondu* partners. Besides, they have to provide food for their *Bondu* friends on the occasion of the latter's visit or dancing expeditions. Such being the collective responsibilities of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. Thus the boys and the girls cut one or two patches of forest every year and raise various crops like paddy and rice. In the months of June and July the *Kangra* and *Selam* women, however, *mikunda* from the jungle. Both the *Kangra* and *Selam* are sold for money or exchanged for paddy and rice. Money is used for buying gifts for *Bondu* visitors and tea, dal, etc., are used for feeding them.

The *Kangra* and *Selam* men go to work as hired labourers. They cut trees for others, weed their fields, help them in harvesting crops and bring wages which are used for common purposes.

Functions of the Mqang—The Mqang utilization of the Jung affords manifold functions for people of all age classes. The Mqang has a social, economic, political and magico-religious uses for the Jung. Some of these uses are described here.

The *Majang* affords sleeping accommodation for the unmarried youth, for the widowers and for the guests and relatives. Outsiders coming to anybody's house become guests of the person concerned and are so by the name. Those coming to the village become the guests of the village and it becomes the duty of the villagers to feed them. Whichever way the guests and outsiders always sleep in the *Majang* at night.

2. *Majang* is the common meeting ground where the village elders gather for sometime after the day's work is done and relax before starting to sleep. They talk and amuse one another around the sacred fire of the *Majang* which is kept glowing day and night. Sometime early in the morning before the work starts and before the talk appears in the dawn, between the change over their bed. The women folk go to fetch water from ponds and do other domestic work, whereas the men come to the *Majang* to meet with each other to talk and get warmed by the *Majang* fire.

Important matters affecting the village, be they new disputes in the *Majang* before any decision is arrived at. For example matters like the selection of days for village festivals, decision for changing the village name, selection for and from officers of the village giving away brides to the Boudhar in marriage or proposal for bringing a bride from another village, etc. are first discussed in the *Majang* and all members are free to express their opinions.

3. The educative role the *Majang* plays in forming the life of the Juang youth is very significant. Each married

young couple has one house to sleep and as soon as their children are grown up they are sent to the *Majang* to sleep and are thus kept away from witnessing the usual act of their parents. After becoming members of the *Majang* and after associating with its senior members they are trained and read the scriptures for successful adjustment with other people in social, economic, religious and other aspects of life. The process of socialization also progresses through the senior members' explanation of the *Majang* members. The junior members of the *Majang* eat, eat and sleep for the senior members and are taught how to obey their superiors.

While sleeping together the *Kangkeri* sing various songs, rhythms and use songs from each other and from the other persons, widowers sleeping in the *Majang*. The *Samsangkeri* practice songs by singing in the grounds of the *Kangkeri* when they are heat changes. The folktales and myths of the tribe, which are more known while sleeping in the *Majang*.

4. Life in the *Majang* affects an effective economic organization for the Juang youth. The *Kangkeri* and *Samsangkeri* cultivate one or two patches of land and every year and the yield is stored for common use. The boys cultivate trees, plough the fields, sow seed and harvest the crops while the *Samsangkeri* are in charge burning the dried rice and, sometimes, debarking, weeding and cutting the harvest.

5. *Majang* serves as a joint-house of the village where the quarrels and conflicts are navigated. The villagers gather around the *Majang* fire and

discuss about the quarrel and other important issues to bring out compromise. In case of major offences the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he might be asked to go and use or two rupees for liquor. The liquor is poured by the village elders to consummate the quarrel and conflicts.

Both the intra and inter-village quarrels involving the Jhang exclusively or both the Jhang and non-Jhang are also settled in the *Majang* in this manner.

6. *Majang* acts as a storehouse or "Grahagum" of the village where paddy and other crops are kept stored by the villagers for the guests and relatives. After harvest two to five per cent of paddy is collected from each family of the village and is stored in the *Majang* for feeding the visitors. The boys and girls also store their stock of paddy and other grains in the *Majang*.

7. *Majang* is a sacred institution. The drums and *changus* are hung on the *Majang* walls and the god and the goddess for *changus* and drums (known as *Shinor Badama* and *Kanharu* respectively) are believed to reside inside the *Majang*. For this the girls are directed to plaster the *Majang* frequently. Before going out to perform any ritual the Nagar (village priest) and other ritual officers first come to the *Majang*. On the occasion of *Ambo Nue* the *Kangent*, *Wecidip*, *Chogwa* and drums involving *Shinor Badama* and *Kanharu*. Many other rituals are also performed inside the *Majang* or on the walls of the *Majang* on the plaza. The distribution of

seed for first sowing is made in the *Majang* where the Nagar distributes paddy to each family for first sowing.

8. The genuine artistic talents of the Jhang find expression in the construction of their *Majang*. *Majang* may be called the museum of Jhang art and decoration. Its pillars and beams are carved with drawings of birds, beasts and graceful human figures. Moreover the *Majang* walls are decorated with paintings on the *Ambo Nue* ritual day.

9. It may be used as the kitchen during occasions. Meals are cooked for the visitors inside the *Majang* in day time and on the plaza at night. On every ritual day the *Kanharu* cook their food with the offered materials inside the *Majang*.

10. The last but not the least function of the *Majang* is of recreational nature. It provides fun and pleasure to the boys and the girls who are tired after the days' toil and want to enjoy the sweetness of life by having dance and song time up. At times, they find it so enjoyable that they keep dancing and singing *changus* group on over days and nights.

Modern changes in the *Majang* organisation. The important functions of the *Majang* institution are breaking down and are gradually vanishing out due to the contact of the tribals with the non-tribal people. So it is important to notice the effects of the modern culture on the *Majang* organisation and the subsequent changes brought about. Jhangs of the plains villages come in contact with the caste Hindus more closely than the

Juang living on it is. As such they have developed a feeling of hatred towards the change dance. In some villages, the youths have *Awadit* parties. They are taught dance and songs by an Oriya teacher and ask for their performances in the neighbouring villages for collecting money and grains.

Another form of hatred is developed against the traditional dress and ornaments. Some Khorat Juangs feel that their ladies and girls should not wear beads and bangles of the traditional variety. They should on the other hand wear light ornaments, use hair tonics and soaps, etc. should wear fine and long saris which should be washed frequently with soap.

Absence of organized labour and common economic pursuits on co-operative basis in plains village is really shocking. The members of the community are hardly associating themselves with the affairs of the village. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal efforts. As such they do not cultivate patches of forest land or barren land for a common harvest or go to work as a labour party to earn wages in cash or kind which could be used for meeting the expenses relating to the community organisation.

For such reasons, it is now necessary for the anthropologist to study the youth organisation of various tribes, so that steps may be taken to protect the good points of such an institution.

TRADITIONAL METHODS OF TREATMENT OF DISEASES AMONG THE JUANGS OF DHENKANAL

Every society has persons who specialise in the treatment of diseases and dedicate their lives to the practice of medicine. By the nature of things it may differ from society to society. Among the most primitive tribes of Orissa, there is the belief that disease is caused by hostile spirits, the ghosts of the dead or due to the violation of some taboo. Thus diseases are believed to be spiritually caused and should therefore be treated in accordance with a recognised system of diagnosis and cure. They have their own doctors, well versed with the traditional knowledge of treatment. Much of their time and energy is devoted to the search for the spiritual power. The Juangs, as will be shown in the following few pages, are a typical example of this.

The Juangs, having a numerical strength of 20,000 (according to the estimate of 1931 Census), constitute an important tribe in Orissa so far as

the primitive characteristics of their culture are concerned. Linguistically they belong to the Mundari branch of the Austro-Asiatic group. They are mostly confined to the adjoining hills areas of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts. The area in which the Juangs of Dhenkanal live is somewhat isolated and open and more developed in communication because of its greater accessibility to the areas inhabited by the Juangs of Keonjhar. In Dhenkanal, they live side by side with other clean castes such as Brahmins, Chas, Gilmars, Milkman, Kori and Haduwa tribes like Sabar and Konds. They are more in contact with the outsiders than those living in Keonjhar as a result of which their culture has undergone changes considerably. Hence the Dhankana Juangs about whom this paper is written, are less primitive than those living in Keonjhar.

This paper dealing with the indigenous treatments of diseases, is based on

a study undertaken in the village Samasko of Dhanusa district. It is a multicasual village with the predominance of the Juang population. It is situated at a distance of seven miles south-west of Dhanusaagarh, where the headquarters of the district are seated.

Cause of the Diseases. In the realm of magic, physical ailments the Juangs are still living in the age of magic with its practitioners and the agents of evil to be let loose causes of the diseases, and premature deaths are attributed usually to malevolent deities.

evil spirit, ghosts and malice of weavers. The Juangs have a pantheon of their own which consists of two high gods, benevolent in nature and a number of demi-gods with specific functions presiding over field, forest and village and innumerable spirits residing in the tree and sky. But this is not all. Their unseen world is still further populated by named and unnamed ghosts of the dead. A table given below shows the diseases brought by different agents. —

Name of the deities	Place of residence	Disease caused by the deities
Mr. Jyoti deities	At the foot of the hill	The owner of the field may suffer from headache and fever. Whenever a person is found alone they attack with diseases. If properly not propitiated, bring death finally.
A. Jyoti		Cholera, smallpox and other diseases.
Lachan and Karpur		Bring scabies to women.
Bharada, Lakshmi, etc., Chief village deity	Forest	Vomiting, headache and death if proper offering is not made at once.
Bankamunda Thakurani and Bhandari	At the foot of the hill	Attack men and cattle by sending a bad omen.

If it does not return he takes the name of another spirit and checks his patients. Like this he goes till he finds out the source of the trouble and prescribes the appropriate treatment for the patient.

Treatment

The indigenous methods of treatment of the diseases among the Juangs can be broadly divided into two categories, namely 1, magical cure and 2, medicinal cure. If a mischievous spirit or agent is found to be responsible for the disease or trouble, the magical treatment is first applied. When it fails, treatment by medicine/herbs is made. The magical treatment is conducted by the shaman (Guma) or the priest (Dolan) in the following ways —

1st Treatment by Magaro-Radgama, rules

In cases of diseases caused by the evil spirit or malevolent deity the shaman performs the exorcism by conducting a worship. The afflicted or spirit concerned is evoked, sometimes forced and coaxed — an altar of rice-flour and charcoal dust brought about. Then the shaman offers blood from his own arm, thigh and tongue and sacrifices a fowl or a goat. The spirit thus propitiated is taken away from the altar and is conducted to its own place of habitation by singing the spells in which the spirit is released.

In cases of epidemics like smallpox, cholera or of the outbreak of a pestilence from the Sabar community is invited to perform Magaro and Jasta ceremonies for eradication of the disease. The priest performs a *Piya to Baribidi*

(*Chakuram*, the chief village deity) and *Mangala* (the goddess of epidemics). When he gets into trance being possessed by the village deity, the village elders request him to save them from the epidemic. He asks for sacrifice of an goat. An ox/sheep, fowl and a hog-goat are killed and the priest drinks the blood of the goat.

To avoid sterility of a woman, which is believed to be caused by the evil influence of the *Kapurusa* or *Fulcham*, the family has to construct a worship to goddess *Mangala*. The Sabar priest who is a specialist in this regard is invited to conduct the ceremony on a Tuesday. After performing a *Piya* and sacrificing a fowl, the priest being visited by the goddess enquires about the purpose of evoking her. The husband of the barren woman asks why his wife is unable to bear children. The priest in trance tells him that the *Kapurusa* or *Fulcham* who has entered into her body is responsible for this. On being requested to drive this spirit away the priest loudly calls the *Kapurusa* or *Fulcham* as the case may be. The barren woman becoming the vehicle of the *Kapurusa* or *Fulcham* comes to the priest, who asks her to go away. When she repeatedly refuses to go away the priest with a stick beats her till she agrees to leave for the place of habitation. The priest could tell her to the place which she names, makes her stand against the wall and binds a lock of her hair with it. When the ill-tempered spirit leaves her body, she falls down on the ground. She is then brought back to her home and now she becomes capable of conceiving. At present this ceremony is very rarely

observed. They prefer the others clean castles of the locality to make vows near the goddess Mangala on the occasion of annual festival in Cham (March-April) in the neighbouring villages. They promise to sacrifice a hog-pig in future if blessed with child.

(b) *Treatment by Magical spell and enchanted objects*

Diseases caused by the injurious magic of the sorcerers, stomach trouble caused by the on eye, labour difficulty at the time of delivery and eye-diseases can be cured by administering enchanted objects such as salt in case of stomach trouble, water for easy delivery and dust or mustard in case of fever (caused by sorcery). The shaman breathes the incantation into the object, some of which are given to eat some to drink and some other to smear on the body of the patient. By mere chanting of spells and blowing with the mouth some diseases can be cured, e.g., when there are scratches on the tongue, a shaman sings the magical spell and blows into the tongue.

Besides the shamans and the sorcerers also bring the lovers together whether previously disappointed or not, by their love magic. It is *eye-charm*, which consists of enchanted objects such as tamarind, oil, dust, betel-leaf, water etc. (to be enchanted by different spells) are administered to a person, he or she is sure to fall madly in love.

(c) *Treatment by Magical Herbs*

Other means of warding off some diseases is the herbal medicine with magical power, when brought at a particular time of a particular day

after making oblations properly to the past by the shaman. A few examples are cited below.

(i) As a remedy for a parturient woman who is lacking lactation, the shaman brings seven leaves of *Gepkhopplant* on a Saturday evening after worshipping with *amrit* rice and milk. These leaves are kept under the bed of the mother and the baby to assist lactation.

(ii) A Banyan tree and Tulsi plant are worshipped and seven leaves from each of these trees are obtained. To this is added seven black-peppers and these are powdered. When a woman who has been made abnormal by sorcery, is given this powder to eat, she returns to her previous normal condition.

The shaman acting as a fashionable chemist in the community can prescribe for the preparation of medicines possessing curative and restorative power if collected at a definite time. For example, a man is asked to collect some leaves of a parasite growing on a *Sakada* tree on a Saturday. If he eats those leaves, his strength would be accumulated. A leaf is brought from the pond on a Sunday and a burnt *amroesbee*. The sides are painted on the scratches and cuts on the body for healing. A nest of the *Kumbhatia* bird is brought on a Saturday and is burnt into ashes on a Sunday to prepare a paste with ghee. This is marked on the forehead to become influential in the society.

A shaman also possesses preventive or defensive magical knowledge to protect against the accidental harm by the supernatural or by the evil

magic. The preventive measures consist of wearing the charms and amulets prepared and sold by the shamans. Certain vegetable roots, animal bone or part of animal's body are worn as amulets to prevent evil eye and the evil attention of the mischievous spirits. To cite a few examples, (a) a Huang is asked to bring a root spreading to wards the east corner of a plantain tree and to wear it in a basket with green rice and milk to avoid evil eye and evil spirit, (b) no Shuya or Bantu (malevolent deities) will be able to visit a person with disease, if he or she

has worn a piece of bone of a kite (c) to avoid the danger from scorpions, a person has to wear the head of the scorpion.

Thus, in their belief system, diseases are regarded as, the work of the gods, ghosts and sorcerers and they cannot be treated by spiritual means alone. But if practice they use roots, herbs, go to hospitals, only after the first signs of treatment through the shaman is not given, they are leaving their faith in the supernatural treatment in certain cases.

Village Barananda is situated to the west of the New Capital, Bhubaneswar Orissa. Jokaland or Jogaradi is the Sa-ara ward about a furlong to the west of Barananda. The Sa-ara ward is named after a small river 'Joga' which was flowing nearby in the past. This Sa-ara ward is separated from the Barananda village by the Orissa Trunk Road which runs from Cuttack to Khurda. The Sa-aras of Jokaland are a section of the large Samsa tribe of Orissa. Thirty-six families comprising 143 people (male, female and children) live in this ward. At home they speak Oriya with an inflection which is supposed to have been influenced by their aboriginal origin but outside they speak Oriya like the other caste people. Their traditional occupation is wood-cutting and selling it at the nearby village. The Sa-aras of the nearby villages (Barananda, Sihar and Nupatali)

where the investigation was carried out by the author are called in different terms by their caste neighbours, such as Sa-ara, Sa-ara and Kabari. Besides their traditional business they work as shopkeepers in the paddy fields of the nearby villages. Five Sa-ara women and 7 girls work as day labourers for the building contractors in the New Capital. In rainy season they grow brinjals in the some lands on the Bina forest which is about a mile north-west of the village. Two Sa-ara youth of Jokaland are serving under the Government of Orissa, one as a gardener and the other as a watchman. Besides, seven women and girls are working as labourers in the horticultural section of the State agricultural farm which is close to the ward.

Here in this article I shall discuss the forms and procedures of the

marriage practices among the Sa-sons of Jombang.

Marriage according to the Sa-sons of this village is a ritual union recognized by the *Kinaye* and *Bekhe* of the village who are considered to be the religious and secular leaders expected to

Sanction a union is formed if the unmarried couple or she is deformed, blind, suffering from mental illness, chronic disease, or is a hermaphrodite. Generally the age of marriage for boys is from 15-20 years and for girls 13-15 years.

Type of Marriage

"Marriage by arrangement" is the regular type of marriage among the local land Sa-sons. Marriage by choice is now prevalent among them probably due to the impact of New Capital and other modern influences. Generally, the latter type of marriage is not sanctioned by the religious and secular leaders. During the field study there was such a case in Jombang.

Rules regarding the Marriage

Visage and some chapters of practices of the Sa-sons are very strict. The spouses, because of this rule, are not allowed to have marriage with any woman group or with individuals who are not devout to the same religion. A couple who are in a fight or quarrel after a wedding is also prohibited. In a village where no divorce is known, the second marriage is allowed only once. A widow is not allowed to marry again until a year has elapsed in which she lived

by the *Kinaye* and *Bekhe* in consultation with the village elders.

Procedure of the Marriage

The following is the sequence of procedures observed in the regular type of marriage, e.g.

Bride-seeing (*Kinaye Dekhe*)

1. Relative Approval
2. Relative Approval
3. Negotiation of Brideprice
4. Marriage (*Bekhe*)

The selection of the bride is done by the parents or by the brothers if the parents are dead. Before the bride-seeing the groom's parents are informed about the bride by a middleman, who is known as the "Goodman" or "*Bhaloleke*". Among them the bride's parents never offer the proposal, as this would bring their daughter into ill repute. Generally the parents of the bride come to know about the groom through a relative or someone of the groom's village and this person becomes the middleman in the proposal. Before the bride-seeing or *Kinaye Dekhe* the middleman informs the parents of the bride the names of the prospective bride, the groom's relatives, generally the father and his brothers and one of his claimants in his village except the bride's village to see the bride. When they reach the bride's house they are received warmly by her father, uncle and father's brothers and mothers. The guests are then offered tobacco after which the groom's father and the relatives go on to see the bride. After seeing the bride the groom's father pays

R or Rs. 2 new hands of the girl, he never gives his reasons at once.

After returning to their own village he groom's father consults all his relatives, then only he gives his consent.

The middleman who is first informs the bride's parents. A date is then fixed for the second stage *Kama*, relative by the bride's parents. Accordingly it is also referred to the groom's father by the middleman. On the appointed day the groom's parents go to the bride's house with several new cloth and about two rupees on each to pay the proposed daughter-in-law. It is noteworthy that the *Sa-ra* barber carries the presents to the bride's house. (A *Sa-ra* man acts as barber in the *Sa-ra* in all their houses. He is paid a cash and kind by his *Agamas* (parents). This service is not hereditary, a child of death or disease whether family may be selected for the purpose. But in this village the present barber's family has been working for the last 30 years.) After a few days the bride's father with his relatives visit the groom's house to see their son-in-law. When they reach the groom's house they are given tobacco by the father's father. The bride's father then sees the groom and pays him about Rs. 2. From this day onwards both the parties are sure of the marriage.

Meanwhile negotiation does not take place until the bride is mature. Till maturity the groom's parents send gifts to the bride's house on the festivals like *Dussehra* etc. "*Sa-ra*" etc. "*Kama*" presents" etc. The gifts generally consists of sweets, new cloths, cosmetics, etc. The barber takes these to the bride's house.

Soon after the girl becomes mature a date is fixed by the parents of the parties. On the appointed day the groom's father arranges a gift of about thirty rupees from his own purse. No kinsman or relative contributes to this gift. The following materials which compose the gift are carried to the bride's village, for the negotiation where it is held. The materials mentioned for this purpose are:

1. One and half a *gora* of sweets.
 2. Two new *shawls* (One for the bride and the other for the bride's mother).
 3. A new *shawl* for the bride's father.
 4. *Usha*, *Chhota*, two or three Rs. 10.
 5. Vegetables, *Callacasia*, *Arise*, *nut* etc. worth Rs. 3.
 6. A silver *ring* ornament. *Shila* worth Rs. 4.
 7. A hair ornament (*Magara* or *Shila* Rs. 4).
 8. *Coconut*, *Sonaka*, *Arise* etc. worth about *shawls* etc. worth Rs. 2.
 9. *Makapunda*. Holy offering from *Temples*, *temple* worth Rs. 1.
 10. *Arise* etc.
- Rice and vegetables etc. are taken with the groom's party because if the bride's parents are poor they can provide meals for it. The groom's payment. The negotiation is attended by the father, father's brother, maternal uncle, mother's brothers, the *Kachha* and *Bedra*.

the ornaments and new clothes for the bride and a few words of good-

brother and an old lady or a young boy or girl accompany the bride

A few hours later the groom is led to the altar (Chak) where the marriage is held. At first the bride and the groom are taken to the platform after which the *Nahaka* and *Bhawa* of both the villages are invited to the platform. The *Sa-mra* priest known as "Gara" then recites the ceremonial mantras (*Hangamcha*), saying "Narhe Mange Arjuna" ("Oh Jagamuch, let all be well"). In the absence of the *Sa-mra* priest (Gara) the *Nahaka* and the *Bhawa* of both the parties do the ceremonial mantras (*Hangamcha*). A feast is then served to all the guests and villagers of the bride

and the new marriage arrangements are made by the bride's parents to send their daughter to her father-in-law's house with her husband. Before they start they are taken to her father-in-law's house with her husband. Before they start they are taken to the south-east corner (*Mane*) of the house where the new couple stay with cowrie shells. This ritual procedure is known as "Jho" or "Jhota". The reason for this is unknown. After the plan is over the female relatives of the bride present the couple brass-metal pots, plates, silver ornaments, cowrie shells, new dresses with watches and bicycles are also presented to the couple. Two such cases were referred to me during the field investigation by my informants. The couple is then sent to the groom's house in two separate bullock carts. The bride's maternal uncle,

When the procession reaches the groom's house seven married women of the ward start a communal worship (*Shodapana*) of the couple after which they are taken inside the house.

The next night the couple meet together and the marriage is consummated but without ceremony is necessary.

On the seventh day the bride goes to her father's house at the request of her father where she remains for about a month. She does not return to her husband's house unless a request is sent to her parents by the groom's parents.

Before concluding this article let us discuss about the bride-price which is prevalent among them and is paid at the time of negotiation. This is paid to the bride's father as a compensation for the loss of a woman's services in his family by the groom's father. My informant told me that since the girls are considered to be gold (saugh), some money (manat) is paid to purchase this gold. So the bride-price is known as "Kamra-saugh-saugh" (lit. Bride-gold-tenacity).

The bride's father or guardian will neither drink nor eat in the groom's house if the bride-price is not accepted by him. As the bride-price is not esteemed among the *Sa-mra* of Jopriadi. If one keeps the bride-price he will be criticised by his fellow Jagers for "selling" his daughter. So, now-a-days, the bride-price

is possible to get into it. He
 grows up to be the most
 just - most just the marriage is
 the best in the world. It is
 better than all the other the different
 one is the best to get it. The
 like that to be in as a house
 that is a perfect house. It is the

STRUCTURAL UNITY OF A FISHING VILLAGE IN COASTAL ORISSA

R. K. SINGH

That the Indian village constitutes a kind of structural entity has been debated from various viewpoints by the social anthropologists since more than two decades or so. I propose to describe briefly in this paper the internal structure of a fishing village. The topic discussed here emphasises

on its socio-political exclusiveness of the village life. I shall devote my attention to discussing the following questions: what happens when a revenue village recorded in the Government office for administrative purposes consists of more than one sociological village? Is it time to consider a village as a structural unity for study? What needs to be the unit of study, a rural India, whether a revenue and/or administrative village?

Administrative Village

The revenue village Gopaband has an area of 1884 acres of land, and a population¹ of 2,714. Perhaps the whole area in this revenue unit has been so named as Gopaband after the name of one of the eight sociological

villages in which the revenue is levied for administrative purpose. Generally speaking the term village or *grama* is prefixed to the name of each real acreage of land recorded in the settlement map. In each settlement map the limits of habitation area are also fixed because the special amount of revenue is charged for the house sites. The recorded area in this revenue unit bears the same name Gopaband in Government records. But as a matter of fact there are eight village communities each of which has its own local name and Gopaband is just one such village. In certain contexts, particularly regarding land-holdings in revenue accounts, and for most administrative purposes we shall have to speak of Gopaband as a whole because distinction between proper Gopaband and the other seven village communities is of little consequence for the purpose of this paper.

All these villages lie about two and a half miles east of Kaping, also known as Anantapur, former office site of the ex-Zamindar and now the headquarters of the Tahsil. Anantapur is about 48 miles from the

pass to Cuttack, and is about 9 miles west of Paradip, the proposed part area of the State Government. A Karfa road named Sagar starts from Kujang and goes up to Sandhaud near Sakhari.

The road runs by the side of the village in Gariyap.

The population and caste-groups of each village is given below.

Names of the villages	Caste Groups	Population
1. Gariyap.	K. m. s. Banks K. m. s.	42 14
		56
2. Sandhaud.	K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s.	21 1 1 1 1 1
		26
3. Sandhaud. S.	K. m. s.	24
4. Gariyap.	K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s.	1 1 1 1
		4
5. Sandhaud.	K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s. K. m. s.	15 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
		21

Name	Settlements	Case Groups	Population
6. Talandanda		Konta (Small)	56
		Konta (Near)	28
		Gadia	5
		Kandara	19
		Kand	12
			120
7. Gotohoda		Konta (Small)	681
		Konta (Near)	52
		Dhoda	20
			753
8. Barbia		Konta (Small)	6.5
		Konta (Near)	76
		Tali	21
		Barbia	7
		Kandla	19
		Kandara	36
			175

All these eight villages are located within a coastal zone which covers about one mile. Each village maintains its own autonomy. The villages Talandanda, Sakhata, Chanda, Sola, are a recent growth and the rest five villages are of long standing. The three living villages, namely Talandanda, Gotohoda and Barbia are altogether called Kalapa. The houses of Kalapa are clustered together within a small area, and form more or less a compact block that appears as a big village. Despite the lack of physical separation, each village is itself an independent unit. Each is of great importance as a village

in which the interplay of some of the basic socio-cultural institutions can be studied.

There is the documentary evidence for the reconstruction of the history of Kalapa. Perhaps a long time or not these five villages of Kalapa functioned as a single sociological unit. This seems apparent partly because of the compactness of the houses in the three villages within a small area, and partly because of the peculiar symbolic identification of a three groups 'as men of Kalapa.' For example, when any person, especially of the Kanta caste,

goes out of any one of these three villages of Kalapet, Taladanda, Gochada and Borhda, he identifies himself as a man of Kalapet. This fact reflects the genuine relationships among them.

Concerning the fishermen of Kalapet and people of Kalapet in particular are occasionally famous for their caste-unity ferocity and collective fighting. Sometimes, leaving personal ties of Kalapet interfere with the affairs of other castes of surrounding villages as in regard to family-quarrels, agitations, inter-village disputes, etc. Persons belonging to high castes of the area try seek their intervention where they run cases in the law courts of the State. Nobody disapproves of their decisions and dares to flout their authority. Now-a-days, whatever is of the local area are not completely free from the apprehensions of their high-handedness under the present administration and of intervention of the Panchayat Raj.

CONCLUSION

In the conclusion that follows, I shall concentrate my attention on Taladanda alone as it forms an independent unit in a number of notable ways. The residents of Taladanda follow a different style of living even though, physically Taladanda is inseparable from the rest of the two part-villages of Kalapet. The targets of it are pooled in their caste quarrels (Solabha Saru is brother-in-council for their peace-loving nature. Till very recent times there were no factional groupings, and agitation in this village compared

to that of Gochada and Borhda. People of Taladanda speak of their honesty, submissiveness and modesty contrasted to harsh, whimsical and insolent behaviour of the neighbouring Kusta villages. According to them, people of the other two part-villages of Kalapet are wicked and they interfere into the problems of other caste villages. The villagers of Taladanda often remark "We mind our own business and never try to do any sort of mischief as done by them".

The paddy fields surround the village on three sides, and on the fourth—that is, the eastern side—the houses of Taladanda abut on those of the next village, namely, Gochada. Though the villagers are quite conscious of their identity as a social group there is no physical demarcation between their area and those of the neighbouring villages.

One of the total population of Taladanda, 481 belong to Scheduled caste of the Kusta. There are other endogenous sub-castes of the Kusta, but a strength of only thirty-eight. They are subordinate to the Kusta group in all village affairs. The early groups of the Kustas, Kand and Gada, number thirty-six. The Kants and the Kants are untouchables (Harijans). They have only nominal roles in the village. The Gada family came to reside in this village a year ago, and built a house of her own in the village site. The Gadas are not full-fledged members of this village as they do not pay any contribution to the village fund. Taladanda may be called a uni-caste village as 80 majority of the villagers are Kustas. This village does not have other caste

groups found in most of the villages in this area. Hence, this might be called a Kuntia village though it does not mean that the village is exclusively inhabited by the Kuntias. This village is not only a discrete cluster of huts occupied by a group of Kuntians of the Kuntia who recognise their own unity against some other similar groups, but also as a unit in a larger kind of Kuntia caste organisation. It is the smallest corporate group of a political kind with a feeling of solidarity. There are several duties and obligations which bind a person to a membership here. For example,

When a person is asked to

be a member of the Kuntia community he is required to pay Rs. 5 to the village fund when accepted as a villager. This is done formally at a meeting where all the villagers assemble occasionally to discuss some affairs of the village. In fact informal acceptance of a person's membership in the village gets established earlier than this formal procedure during his prolonged stay of some months or a year. What needs to be emphasised as the content of membership in the village is that a villager is expected to participate in collective fishing, to subscribe to the village fund when necessary, and to conform to the prevalent customs of the village. The opinion or evaluation of a person in the village group depends on whether or not he has a membership role in the village.

There is a village Panchayat or a Council of elders, the members of which are called Mamataikars. They decide minor disputes between the members, family quarrels and payment of joint funerals. But in cases of major disputes and conflicts a meeting

is called by the Mamataikars, and all the adult members, Bhada, attend the meeting. Everyone is expected to participate in the discussion, and give their individual opinions over the issue. This village Council is armed with powerful sanctions ranging from fines to the boycott of the offender. The man who is boycotted by the village meeting loses access to the village pond and the barber, the washerman and the priest do not serve him. He is not permitted to go for fishing with the fellow villagers.

Traditionally four functionaries are distinguished for the prescribed roles in the social organisation of the village. They are called as Mangua, Dangua, Vatabha and Bada Behara. Their posts are somewhat hereditary. A suitable person is selected from the village when anyone of them dies without leaving an heir or proves himself a failure in the post. The Mangua presides at the religious functions on behalf of the villagers. He is assigned the duty of helping the priest performing Puja before the village deity on the days of festivities. The Dangua summons the adult members of the village at the direction of the Mamataikars whenever they are required to assemble either to settle up village matters or to start for fishing. The Bada Behara and the Vata Bha are both helping hands to decide in the quarrels and occasional misunderstanding between family members. Besides, there is one village accountant called Kapey. He has to maintain all the accounts of the village fund pertaining to moose raised through joint fishing, and detailed records of expenditure on village festivities, etc. It is an

important portfolio, and usually the work is entrusted to an able man who knows swimming.

The new working fact about the village organisation is what is considered a serious flaw. When a boy reaches the age of about 14 and is capable of handling the nets and can direct the undertaking organised by the village as Mandabari's performance. The parents of a boy perform the duties and labour made out of their paddy and revenues and cover him with one of the shapets when they send him pregnant at some riverside for fishing. For this day assumes the boy is proclaimed as able. He is awarded a fishing stick, villagers and holds a separate position in the socio-political life of the village.

The village deity is a shalpoos daily by a Brahman priest of Sushama. He is paid around 5 from the village fund. He performs a series of rituals for various festivals. The village can ask any other priest to perform his ceremonial function. In case he does so, he master's reference to the village meeting by the priest. The Barber, a resident of the village, usually secured about a quarter mile away renders his services to the villagers except in extraordinary. The Barber may request a shapet shed at the extreme corner of one of the village. It is a simple structure, usually a 10' square, with a thatched roof. The village has a few houses built of them were poor and the houses of widows are the poor village fishing. But as present they get their dues from the individual house holders or their heirs. Besides in

the village can change the Barber and the Washerman even if they fail to come regularly. If some one does not pay dues of the Barber and the Washerman, he has to be decided in the village meeting. As the Barber and Washerman are proprietors of the village a a whole no payment of their dues is not the concern of the village.

The village is a open village with no organisation. A small number can go to a bank for fishing using the village methods. When there is a good catch, he can buy a substantial amount of shapet fund. The village festivals and theatrical performances are financed from this fund. When he epidemics of cholera and smallpox break out some are died or spent from the shapet fund on the rituals for propitiating goddesses to ward-off the diseases from the village boundaries.

It is customary in the village a reader help in a widow left with a male child. She has to supply the required number of nets and gets some shares from the income of joint fishing activity of the village. She continues to get his kind of help till her son becomes able enough to catch the fish with the village.

When anybody in the village adopts a son he or she shall give 100 for the villagers. On the day of the marriage, the village members are invited to the feast. A shapet shed is the last one of giving this has been raised and a master of a shapet is made. The village has an alternative of shapet. If a person intends to build the house or any business, he is supplied with

the quantity of fish needed for the feast by the villagers.

From among the families owning a few head of cattle, young women, boys or girls are sold off daily in exchange of the cattle. In this way every family gets its turn of looking after the cattle, especially during the sowing season. This arrangement called *Qapali* functions smoothly.

II

The Administrative and Sociological villages

In the foregoing descriptions, I have produced enough evidence to indicate the kind of life that binds together the families of a fishing village. The system of Panchayat, the ratification of each common decision, the importance of consensus as a penal sanction, the compulsory attendance of all adult males at some village meetings, these altogether indicate the intense group-loyalty and strong sense of village identity. Co-residence and a mass code of incidents within the village breed a kind of patriotism which gives rise to a defensible structural unity. Apart from the definite social connotations of each facet of a village structure, it has got some practical bearings in context of the Governmental planning. At times, a sociological village loses all benefits from the Government as it has no representation in statutory Panchayats. Because the sessions to the Panchayat take place on population basis and two or more villages may be grouped together for the same. When the members of a decision make out their share, other caste with a overwhelming majority within a social area and/or an administrative village, they

become spokesmen in the Panchayat. They wield political power and try to get sanction of a tank or a well, and such other welfare grants for their own people or for their own villages.

The term 'village' is probably the most troublesome, nothing in the annals of meaning. The village in India is not merely a territorial concept that has been emphasised. What is reckoned for all administrative purposes as a village, may or may not be the same as what we have in mind when we speak of a village. A village may mean a cluster of houses whose inhabitants are regarded, by themselves as well as by others, as a discrete social unit with its identity marked by a local name. The part-village or *Pada* stands as a warning for which one cannot trust a priori conclusions concerning what is, and is not a part of the administrative village. As may be expected Governmental action has not always kept pace with the local developments, and sometimes even eight villages (as in the present case) are treated in Government records as a single unit. Hence, the administrative unit may cut across the sociological unit. The topic discussed here is not merely of local concern but manders itself in a greater or lesser extent, in other regions of India. Prof Srinivas remarks: "The administrative and social villages are not always identical even in areas with nucleated settlements. An administrative village occasionally includes more than one social village where a social village is more rarely divided into more than one administrative village (Srinivas 1960-1, 375). While discussing the concept of dominant caste in Ramapura he categorically states that the village here consists of

three distinct nucleated settlements, one of which is Kera proper, the other two, which have distinct names, are called Oshara, Gumpala or 'Sandline' villages. But these two are one with Kera though these are three separate villages from socio-ethnopolitical standpoint. A small village is tacked into a nearby larger one for reasons of administrative economy. (Srinivas 1959: 10) Andre Beteille's description of village Sempuram throws an interesting light on its structural unity. The village Sempuram is grouped for revenue purpose along with another village Melur which is being separated from Sempuram by a distance of one mile. Again a number of households, which physically form a part of Sempuram, are for revenue purposes, associated with another unit which is located at a distance of two miles even though these households are physically, economically and socially inseparable from the structure of Sempuram. (Beteille 1962: 141).

REFERENCES

1. M. H. Srinivas and A. M. Shah 1960. "The Myth of Self-sufficiency of the Indian Village," *Indian Economic Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 175-192.
2. M. H. Srinivas 1959. "The Domains of Rural India," *Annals of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 61, 1961, pp. 3-15.
3. Andre Beteille 1962. "Sempuram: A village in Tanjore District," *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. XLV, No. 4, 4th Bombay.

The vitality and strength of a tribe depends largely on the type of leaders it produces within its social structure. The efficiency of leaders not only depends on enforcing the traditional rules but they should also have capacity to adjust and mould their followers in changed circumstances. In the present paper an attempt has been made to show the leadership pattern of the Kisan society, how it emerges at different levels of the social organisation and the recent changes that have occurred in the leadership pattern.

The leaders are the most important persons in the Kisan society. Though the members of the tribe have spread far and wide, chiefly in the districts of Sundargarh and Sambalpur, and now live as agriculturists and labourers in the semi-urban and metropolitan villages, they still maintain some

sense of solidarity and exclusiveness amongst themselves. They are jealous to control all matters relating to their social customs and practices within the tribe.

The Kisan social structure is always democratic in spirit and the Kisan leaders are mostly informal in nature. But having been ruled long by the feudal chiefs and coming in contact with other caste Hindus they have organised their social structure on some principles. The two important formal leaders within the tribe are the *Bardhasani* and *Pangri*. The post of *Pangri* is not hereditary as in the case of *Bardhasani*. On the ritual of readmitting the ex-communicated persons into the tribe and formally providing them the maximum help held every year at the time of *dhonging* (dipping or bonding in the so-called *Gangra* *ghat*). But in old days the *Bardhasani*

very powerful, with large amount of authority and discretion. Up to recent past he was considered as the King of the tribe and was a dictator to some extent within the democratic framework of Kisan social structure. The institution has been destroyed a great, partly under the pressure of modern forces and partly through the non-materiality of informal Kisan leaders. Enquiry about the role of Barika is now just of historical interest, nevertheless, it is helpful to throw light on the functions of leaders in the tribe in the past. We may, therefore, discuss the role and functions of Barika in detail.

The Barika in the Past Society

The Barikas were selected by the people. But after being selected once, he was beyond reproach. Umari Rajas gave their formal approval to particular Barikas by issuing copper plates and delegated some authority to try cases partly relating to his caste affairs. A Barika in the past was the judge in the tribe as Barika was his territory, considering his efficiency and influence over his tribes men. Within a particular jurisdiction the Barika adjudicated all social cases.

The chief function of the Barika was to regulate the relations within the tribe. Lot of complications were arising within the tribe on account of various forms of marriage such as *Dhaka-Dhaka* (marriage by intrusion), *Idaha* (marriage byelopment), *Gharis* (marriage by capture) or marriage through God service. Even in

case of arranged form of marriage at times after betrothal marriage took place with some other person which was leading to dimensions and disputes. The Kisans were alien towards regular matrimonial relations, Barika paid brideprice to unmarried girls were deposited *Sopari* under the guardianship of the Barika. He tried such cases and tried the offenders. If there was no legality in marriage the Barika forced the concerned person to marry the pregnant woman. In some occasions he took her to his house to her before or after the birth of the child the Barika arranged her marriage. He collected expenses called compensation (*Dargi*) from the bridegroom out of which he gave some portion to the community. If a *Qasam-Nasam* was driven out or if somebody violated the promise after betrothal the Barika imposed fines as punishment. In case of adultery the Barika, at times, ordered he brother of the offended girl to capture and marry the sister of the offender. Thus *Gharis* form of marriage was in force through the instrumentality of the Barika.

In his limited way the Barika used to maintain the legal paraphernalia. He appointed a peon called *Gachcha* *Barika* *Sundargarh*, who accompanied him whenever he used to go to some place to try any case. Some Barikas of Bamanda had their assistants, called *Dandars*, who removed an article from the house of an Ajaria, the accused person.

When a person used to submit his prayer before the Barika with

came with the help of the village elders of the Kisan community of the particular village. But once he became powerful, through credence and Raja's authority, he began to create his own supporters. In one village he was selecting a prominent person who was obedient to him and through whose help he could give effect to his schemes. In doing so, cases the Barika used a fake title sometimes. A share of the fines or other collections, which was to be distributed among the community members was given to such elder or elders. Thus, he made at the village level were partially influenced and demoralised through the institution of Barika.

The institution of Barika became an agency of exploitation in course of time. The evils of feudal system and corrupt practices of the state officials continued under the tribal officials. Barika and he tried to extract money from simple tribals. His leadership lacked the dynamism which was necessary in changed circumstances and he continued to enforce the old practices of the tribe while the country was undergoing tremendous change. With the spread of education, development of consciousness through national movement and with the decrease of Raja's authority and power, the Barika however, very much continued. Finally the establishment of courts and introduction of modern law even in remote corners of the country was a death knell to the institution of Barika and now from all areas the post of Barika have been abolished. Nearly twenty-five years ago the Barika in different areas started losing their importance

and after the independence and merger of states the institution became defunct in all areas. Now, I was reported only a few Barikas are existing in the lower Bundelkhand area but they have substantially lost their power and importance in society.

Abolition of Barika is an epoch making incident in the police life of the Kisan. It shows the victory of the tribal organisation to suppress the harmful elements however powerful, these may be. The informal leaders in different areas drove away the Barika from his authority. It is interesting to hear the opinion of some informal leaders who were direct agents to throw away the Barika from his office.

The villagers of Prada Palsar in Sambhalpur narrated before me:

The Barika had previously the duty to punish the offenders. But later he found it as a source of income. He abducted pregnant girls, who had illicit relations with the Gonds and Ghasis, into our society. So we decided to live as Mandakani (leaderless communal) too. We submitted a case against him to the court of Govindpur and removed him from his office.

The people of Kaporid in Baleswar narrated before me:

We abolished Barika as he tried to exploit his followers by collecting heavy fines. Therefore people did not prefer to consult him in case of difficulty. Each tried to do things

according to his own sweet will. Thus gradually his power declined. In this situation clever villagers exploited others and gained money. Finally we cut off all relations with the Barika.

In certain instances the Barika's actions were challenged in the law courts by their opponents. The Barika of Gudmali was driven out of his post.

Once on a certain post, there was dispute between the Naga Barika and Naga Barika of Gudmali regarding the validity of the marriage of a divorced woman who had undergone *Bakshak* ceremony under the authority of Naga. In protected legal suit when Naga saw the possibility of being punished, he identified his assistant Jogi as the Barika of the community. Jogi was fined Rs. 100 which he paid with difficulty by making loan. After this Jogi became the Barika of the area but gradually the post lost its old glory.

While the Barika was losing importance the informal leaders started came assemblies in the modern sense. These leaders of the came assemblies with a purpose just tried to purge their community from all evils and revolted against the rule of the traditional leader Barika. They placed up their own *Bakshak* organisation, the traditional *Panchajati* system and tried to select members in different areas or try such social cases which were

decided by the Barika in old days. Thus at present the absence of Barika does not create any vacuum as the *Panchajati* organisation is discharging the duties that were performed by the Barika in the past.

To understand the emergence of these new leaders who organise the came meeting it is necessary to understand the leadership pattern of the Khasi society. At present after the abolition of Barika there is no formal leader of any importance. No doubt there are formal officials as *Pangras* within the tribe but such formal officials are just the office bearers while the real power, prestige and decision making and organising comes, affects rest with informal leaders. Here we may see how at different levels leadership is created in the Khasi society before describing the present came meetings.

Leaders in the Village Level

For all practical purposes local group is the most important social unit in the Khasi society. The local group may be a village or a ward within the village which consists of a number of Khasi families. As pure Khasi villages are very few to number the local group generally represents the Khasi ward. In the local group an informal council of elders is the real authority. The function of the council of elders is to administer justice, organise the communal rites and festivals and to co-operate in other social functions. The prominent person within the group is called *Slim* or headman but he neither exercises any special power nor holds any hereditary or life-long

office. He is just a common man though he enjoys some amount of prestige in the eye of others. In some villages there are more than one *Sian*, each enjoying almost equal status. Thus the *Sian* is an informal leader who gets the recognition by common consent. If he *Gaunta* of the village is a *Kisan*, usually he becomes the *Sian* of the local group but such persons are very few in number. Generally the land-owning wealthy cultivator of the village who can argue well, becomes the *Sian*, provided he takes interest in the communal affairs of his village. As kinship ties are more important in the village level, a person, belonging to the class of the majority, naturally becomes the *Sian* of the village as he can very easily influence his kin members.

Except prestige the *Sian* gets no other advantages through his office. The only remuneration for council of elders is received in the form of feast as in major cases of serious offences punishment is given in arrange a communal feast which is called *Jau Bani*, *Danda*. Except compensation to the aggrieved party the *Kisan* leaders do not suppose fines in terms of money but they corrupt the village elders.

Forces within the Village

Sociologically considered every local group is not a single unit. The *Kisan* villages are multi-clan in nature and sometimes mild competition is seen within the important clan groups. Besides, for various other reasons there may arise dispute within the village. Generally two big *Kisan*

villages cannot perform their social duties efficiently. In case of marriage, death or such other rites it is customary that all the villagers should join in the common feast. But in bigger villages it is not convenient to maintain his solidarity. In such occasions the local group becomes divided into a number of factions called *Badi* in the local language. Now *Badi* is the important self-contained autonomous social unit within the village. In all social events members of *Bandhu* clans take an important role as their very presence is indispensable. So in the formation of *Badi* groups the leaders see that the *Bandhu* clans are well represented in the *Badi* organisation. Thus *Badi* organisation is a safety valve which counteracts the friction amongst the leaders in the village.

At the Level of Cluster of Villages

The important disputes which are not finished at the first level are discussed at the village level and if no satisfactory decision is arrived at then village representatives *Sian* of five or six villages are invited to adjudicate the issue. Thus in the village level there may be a number of leaders, depending on the number of *Badi* within the village, but some prominent person is considered as the representative of the entire village. Such prominent villagers are invited by the aggrieved party to decide particular cases. This inter-village organisation is called *Panchayat* though it is a loose and evolving organisation. Important land-owning cultivator *Gaunta* or some educated person who has acquaintance with the law courts and present day rules and regulations becomes the

[illegible]

It is a good idea to have a few more copies of the form on hand to give to new donors when they come in. This will help you to get a better idea of how many people are interested in donating and how many are actually donating. It will also help you to get a better idea of how many people are interested in donating and how many are actually donating.

THE DIDAYI - A HILL TRIBE OF ORISSA

The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe of the district of Koraput inhabiting the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern Ghats range. The plateau is a continuation of the 'tribes' of the Bonda, who are frequently referred to as notorious by the local people due to their savage attitude. The Didayi number 18,000 approximately. At present they do not live in a compact geographical area and migration has taken place in the places lying at the foot of the plateau on both sides. Comparatively more frequent migration has been in the direction of the valley on the eastern side of the plateau as the tract is more secluded from the general stream of population of the district. As a result of this they can be said to be divided into two groups, i.e. the hill and the plain Didayi. It is interesting to note that the people living on the hill-tops have almost no social contact with the plain people who, to a considerable extent, have been influenced by the Telugu speaking people living close to them. The hill people have retained, to greater extent, the primitiveness which can be observed from their habit, dress and other activities.

The Didayi speak a dialect closely akin to the language spoken by the Gadaba and Bonas, hence it belongs to the Mundari group. The plain people have incorporated many Telugu words into their language due to contact. The hill people are comparatively dirty with regard to their dress, habits, and mostly keep long locks of hair known as 'Gonaglo'. The plain people have done away with hair practice and are comparatively better off with regard to their dress habits.

The villages

There is a sharp contrast between the type of villages of the two divisions of Didayi. The hill villages are small and their number hardly exceeds ten. The plain villages on both sides approximately are twenty in number. Approach to the villages is extremely difficult as the 4,000' plateau stands as a huge barrier. There is absolutely no road to reach these villages. The only easily accessible village is Oranga, lying at a distance of three miles East of Kudu-masuguma Panchayat headquarters situated on the main road from Jaypore to Bahmela. From Oranga one has to climb the Korusakamboru range

of the Eastern Ghats mountains to reach the hill villages. A steep descent from the plateau makes one to reach the plain villages of Didays and Kandhas on both the banks of river Machhad and dense forests. There are other round about approaches to the plain Didays village to avoid the steep ghat.

The houses in hill as well as plain villages lie scattered all over and no regular street is found. The houses are built in an individualistic manner and they again do not share a common roof like Kandhas. The one characteristic, which is marked in the hill villages is that it is inhabited by members of a single clan and as an exogamous unit. In a plain village this is not strictly the rule. They have accommodated people from other castes and tribes keeping their identity by separate hamlets.

The Didays houses consist of two rooms, a front verandah (*Minda*) and a small open space before house. The entire thing is fenced all-around and is called *torrah*. There are no back-doors or windows. One entrance is used for both the rooms. The bigger one at the entrance is known as *Mandh Duan* and the small one is called *Dhar Duan* and is used as store-house for *sagi*, rice and other crops. The bigger one is used for sleeping and cooking. The earthen platform attached to oven (*Mahurank*) is in one of the corners and is used for keeping pots. It is known as *Madir*.

The Clan

The Didays kinship system is based on two distinct exogamous clans known as *Qhis* and *Mis*. *Qhis* Sij,

Qadis, *Majhs*, *Mishels*, *Sarwar* and *Sis* constitute the *Qhis* clan and *Mis*, *Mish*, *Qashwar*, *Gupardis*, *Piran* and *Kras* constitute the *Mis* clan. The groups of each clan are exogamous and can have marriage relations only with any of the groups of the next clan. The clans have their respective totems. *Makhe-Bas* or *Nag* is the totem of the *Mis* clan and *Yild-Bas* or *Ugar* is the totem of *Qhis* clan.

Marriage System

The Didays kinship system is based on two distinct exogamous clans. mother's sister's children and father's brother's children are considered to be brothers and sisters. Preference is given to father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter who are called *Hammarake*. Generally, three forms of marriage are prevalent in the Didays society. They are *Sijay* or marriage by negotiation, *Qabe* or marriage by capture and *Fasamank* in which the girl forcibly enters the groom's house and enters into sexual-relations with him. On the event of negotiation marriage the groom's father goes to the bride's father to ask for his consent. The groom is called upon to the bride's house. It is interesting to note that the decision depends upon the girl's willingness to marry the man. When the girl gives consent her father asks the groom's father to come to his house in each month for one year. This custom is known as *Fasamank*. The groom's father visits bride's father's house bringing with him one *man* of rice, *sagi* wine and sometimes a buck. February to April is the season for

marriage. *Magh, Phagan and Chait* and Tuesday and Wednesday are considered to be the two auspicious days for marriage. After completing his term of waiting the bride's father's house, the groom's father asks for performing the marriage ceremony. The bride's father gives one goat, ten *man* of rice, one *pat* of *soyap* wine, cash of rupees twenty and a cock to the bride's father. The bride's father then gives a feast to his villagers and takes the *soyap* father to take away the *pat* after payment of bride-price, called in their language as *Gingap*. This constitutes a cow, one metal plate, one sword, three plates of rice, one new cloth and one small chicken valued over a cock. After receiving this the bride's father says to the groom's father that he is finally giving his daughter for his son. Then the girl goes to the groom's village accompanied by the *soyap* or the goats of the groom's village. After reaching the groom's village the groom and bride are brought together and the priest puts a *Mohand* garland on the hands of the couple which is allowed to eat rice. Then its neck is wrung and the blood is mixed with rice which is thrown over the couple. After this, turmeric water "*Sandhu-Ingalka*" is thrown over the couple from above the groom's roof by his younger brother, and dancing and drinking take place all evening. The couple is not allowed to have sex relation for eight days from the day of the marriage.

Edahung—The *hu* Dayas practice shifted cultivation whereas the *pat* people have adopted to settled agriculture. Both the groups cultivate rag and *soya* extensively which is

her staple food. There is, however, exception for few villages like *Kosang* and *Oarang* lying on the plains with greater avenue for wet land cultivation. These villages cultivate paddy as their major crop.

The monthly cycle of economic activities of the *hu* Dayas is given below—

Magh, Phagan—*Garbar* or virgin forests are cleared by felling trees.

Chait *Satsab*—The dried rags are burnt. Bamboos are felled from the jungle and fencing of the houses are made.

Land—Houses are thatched with *Pari*, a type of jungle grass which grows on *Bir* or tree less hill-tops which are abandoned for few years after shifting cultivation is practised over it. The new fields are dug for broadcast of *soya*.

Asadh—Seeds of *soya* are broadcast, the *soyap* and other undergrowths of *Garbar* or virgin forests are cleared for broadcast of rag and other seeds.

Bardwa—Seeds of rag, maize, mung, *Ashuri* (bean), chilla, *Jadi* (oil-seeds), cucumbers and *Kiri* (Romaine) are broadcast on the patch of cleared forest.

Jore—Vegetable plants like tomato, brinjal and chillies are planted.

Deutwa—Weeds are cleared from *soya* and rag fields.

Asadh, Padi, Puri—*Soya* and *rag* are harvested, husked and stored.

The Dayas of the plains do not have sufficient virgin forest for practising

shifting cultivation, hence they depend on paddy and ragi. They grow cash crops like oil more extensively than the hill Didayi. The hill and plain Didayis both collect a variety of roots and fruits throughout the year to supplement their food economy.

The Didayis are voraciously addicted to juice of *asap* tree which is available in abundance in the forests. The wine is available almost throughout the year and is depended upon as one of the major sources of their food economy. Liquor prepared from ragi and *asap* are also in use among them. It may be concluded that the hill Didayi live on subsistence level having no scope for wet land cultivation and can be said to be still on colonial stage where the plain Didayi are economically better off having scope for wet land cultivation as well as for raising various types of cash crops like oil-seeds and pulses.

The process of shifting cultivation as practiced by the hill Didayi is that a virgin forest is cleared by felling the trees in the months of *Mogh* and *Phagun* (February-March). They are allowed to dry up for a month after which fire is set. During May and June the stumps and other undergrowths are cleared for broadcast of seeds. The

first stage of the forest is called *Gurhar*. After one harvest the same field is called *Saomhar* where only small variety of *sage* is cultivated. After the second harvest the same plot becomes *Bur* for three to four years when no cultivation is made over it. After three years it becomes again *Gurhar* and shifting cultivation is practiced. The process continues till that patch of land is finally used for cultivation of small variety of *sage*, *mace* and vegetables.

The plain Didayi have undergone immense change when one looks to the hill Didayi's way of life. It is interesting to note that a section of the plain Didayi in the village of Rangoda which is going to be submerged due to *Balimda Dam* say that they are *Mania Paroja* and not Didayi, though they retain their own language and relations with other Didayis. It appears that they want to merge themselves with the major bulk of the population around them losing their link with their fellow-men. It is to be regretted that no comprehensive data about these people's life is available from any source. A detailed study should be taken up to know the present state of affairs of this small tribe.

**IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL AND RURAL WELFARE
DEPARTMENT DURING THE QUARTER ENDING
THE 30TH SEPTEMBER 1963**

1. *Administrative*—Certain changes were effected at the district level. The District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer, Koraput, was transferred to the district of Mayurbhanj and the Assistant Director (Linbom), Umarkote, took over as District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer, Koraput. The post of Assistant Director (Linbom), Umarkote, which was in the scale of Rs. 370—780 was temporarily downgraded to the scale of Rs. 260—540 and was allowed to be held by one of the Gazetted Assistant District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officer.

Two Subdivisional Gazetted Assistant District Panchayat and Tribal Welfare Officers were deputed for training to the National Institute of Community Development, Rajpur, Dehradun, for a period of six weeks, with effect from the 8th July 1963. One post of Assistant Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare (Headquarters) was created, with effect from the 31st July 1963 to assist the Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare in the supervision of welfare institutions and field-work.

2. *Educational and Cultural Advancement*—(a) To reduce the multiplicity of crafts and to give more emphasis on general education in Ashram Schools it was decided to abolish the weaving and carpentry sections from selected Ashram Schools.

(b) Since the responsibility of primary education has been entrusted to Zilla Parishad it has been decided that the funds for distribution of reading and writing materials will be placed at their disposal from the next financial year.

(c) With a view to associate eminent Anthropologists and Social Workers both official and non-official in the work of the Tribal Research Bureau and to obtain necessary advice from them, Government have been pleased to constitute an Advisory Board with the Chief Minister as Chairman and Minister, Tribal and Rural Welfare, as Vice-Chairman and the Director, Tribal and Rural Welfare, as Member-Secretary. Two Administrative Officers of Tribal and Rural Welfare Department, two Anthropologists and two eminent Social Workers are the other members of the Board.

3. *Economic Uplift*—(a) In view of the increased cost of building materials and wage rates, Government have decided to increase the ceiling of construction cost of gringola building to Rs. 7,100 in respect of the types for which previously a sum of Rs. 5,300 was sanctioned by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department.

(b) To undertake survey of land for resettlement of the tribals displaced by MIG factory and township in Sanaboda of the Koraput district, Government in the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department have created one post of Sub-Deputy Collector, two posts of non-gazetted Tahasildars and some clerical staff. A sum

of Rs. 47,150 has been sanctioned for payment of stipends to the tribal youths undergoing training in different trades and for providing accommodation to the trainees in Sonabada.

4. *Miscellaneous*—(a) There is an evil custom among the Konds Society of Koraput and Phulbani that if a woman is killed by tiger her husband is excommunicated with the entire family and so also if the husband is killed or wounded the other members of the family are excommunicated. To remedy the stigma the family in such a case is required to incur heavy expenditure.

Similarly in case of Kisan tribe performance of a ceremony is required as in case of Konds for bringing back the family to society but at a lower cost.

To put an end to these evil customs the Home (P. R.) Department have been requested to make special efforts to propagate among the Konds and Kisans. Instructions have been issued to the field-officers of this Department to persuade the Adibasis for putting an end to these practices.

(b) The eleventh meeting of the Tribes Advisory Council was held on the 30th August 1963 in the Secretariat Conference Room with the Chief Minister in the Chair. Among other things the Council made the following important recommendations to the Government for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes in general.

(i) Legal provisions on the lines of the Madhya Pradesh Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulations, 1962 to save the Adibasis from the clutches of unscrupulous money-lenders.

(ii) Revision of the present reservation of vacancies in services for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes on the basis of increased population of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes according 1961 Census.

(iii) Complete abolition of Gothi System.

(iv) Control of Akhandi Paridhi practised by the Scheduled Tribes at the time of Chaitra Sankranti in some of the districts.

(v) Reservation of 10 per cent seats for caste Hindu students in the special hostels for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes with similar facilities to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in general hostels.

(c) A meeting of the State Harijan Welfare Advisory Board was held on the 21st September 1963 with the Chief Minister in the Chair. The Board made recommendations on the following important subjects :—

(i) Principle for giving legal aid

(ii) Extending facilities to Scheduled Castes for their settlement in Dandakaranya Project.

(iii) Enhancement of the rate of stipends for Scheduled Castes girl students.

(iv) Lease of service tenure lands in the name of Gondas in Koraput district.

- (vi) Grant of licence to Harijans as is given to Muslims in Koraput district for carrying on leather business.
- (vii) Grant of waste land to Adibasis and Harijans free of Solami
- (viii) Financial assistance to Taragan Co-operative Society
- (ix) Compulsory sale of homestead lands
- (x) Reservation of seats for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in Saint's School.
- (xi) Study of history and genetics of different Scheduled Caste communities
- (xii) Organisation of Weavers' Co-operatives for Scheduled Castes
- (xiii) Settlement of Government land in favour of Scheduled Caste people
- (d) The second working group meeting on long-term plan for the welfare of Backward Classes was held on the 20th September 1963 with Additional Development Commissioner in the Chair.

The working group observed that the aim and object of drawing up the Long-term plans should be that the most backward 'A' category tribes of the communities should be helped not only to take full advantage of T. D. and C. D. Blocks Programmes but special measures will be adopted to bring them up to the level of general population by the end of 1975. To do so their present level of development will have to be assessed vis-à-vis the level of the general population. The gap existing between the two indifferent fields will have to be crystallised in the different field of education, health and sanitation, economic development, etc.

Some of the general decisions taken by the working group are establishment of Chattralis in the tribal village having population of 20-200, starting of comprehensive schools in backward areas and in Koraput district in particular, technical education with the basic crafts like carpentry, smithy, masonry, etc., from the Middle to the Secondary Standard, Soil Conservation Measures in tribal pockets where soil erosion has taken place on a large scale, resettlement programme for 'A' category tribes, etc.